

AN
ABRIDGEMENT,

Or rather,
A Bridge of Roman Histories,
to passe the neereſt way
from TITVS LIVIVS to
CORNELIVS TACITVS.

Under which
(IN THREE BOOKES)
AS IT WERE THROUGH THREE
ARCHES, for the ſpace of Sixe ſcore yeeres,
the Fame and Fortune of the Romans
ebbs and flowes.

By
William Fulbecke.



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The Preface to the Reader.



Ourteene yeares are now runne out
 sithence I fully ended and dispatched
 this historicall labour: for departing
 from the Vniuersitie of Oxford in the
 yeare 1584; and addressing my selfe
 to the studie of the Law, I thought it more conuenient
 and reasonable at once to finish and perfect this
 worke, which I had already begun, then breaking my
 course with delaies to be still striking on the anwill,
 knowing that things begun, are more easily conclu-
 ded then things interrupted can be conioyned;
 wherefore in that very yeare and some few daies fol-
 lowing, I did begin, continue and consummate the
 three bookes of this historie, since which time it hath
 lyen in the couert of my studie, of my selfe seldome
 looked on; of others some times read, who by vrgent
 perswasion would haue mooued me to offer it to the
 publike view of my countreymen, to which I would
 in no wise condescend, alleaging for reason that it
 would be thought a blemish of impudencie in me to
 assay the discription of such things, which by *Appian*,
Plutarch, *Paterculus*, &c others haue bene excellently
 deliuered; which I tooke to be a sufficient fortresse
 and support of my excuse and refusall, but againe I
 heard that all the Romane writers which haue re-
 ported the accidents of this historie, are either in

THE PREFACE

their narrations too long and prolix, or else too harsh and vnpleasant, or else so exceeding brieft that the coherence and mutuall dependance of things could hardly be discerned or coniectured in the narrow compasse of so strict desciphering. This I heard with patience, and answered with silence, for I durst not oppose my blunt arguments to their daintie appetite: the truth standing so in the middle way betwixt both, that I could not with safe conscience in all these allegations dissent from them, nor with sound opinion in all consent vnto them, wherefore weighing more precisely in minde, and ballancing with vnaffected thoughts the state of the difference betwixt vs, and beholding the naked pourtrature of the thing it selfe without shadow of circumstances, I perceiued that the great prolixitie and the too exceeding breuitie of the Romanē historiographers could not well be couered with the veile of any reasonable excuse: and further the obiection of others could not well be confuted, who do condemne in their writings great disagreement and contrariety of narration, wherefore remembring my first intent in the collecting of these historicall reports, which was to singe and sequester the vndeniable truth of the historie from the drosse and falshood which was in many places intermixed and enfolded in it: and to do this in such sort, that my speciall care in auoyding the extremities of length and breuity, two lothsome faults, from which notwithstanding few writers be free, might fully and manifestly appeare: and considering likewise that histories are now in speciall request

TO THE READER.

request and accompt, whereat I greatly reioyce, acknowledging them to be the teachers of vertuous life, good conuersation, discrete behauiour, politike gouernement, conuenient enterprises, aduised proceedings, warie defences, grounded experience, and refined wise domē. And being again sollicitēd by perswasible meanes, to commit the censure of this my historicall collection to the curesie of others, I haue atlast yeelded to this motion, reposing my selfe rather vpon kinde construction, then rigorous desert. The vse of this historie is threefold, first the reuealing of the mischiefes of discord and ciuill discention, in which the innocent are proscribed for their wealth, noble men dishonored, cities become waste by banishment and bloodshed: nay (which is more) virgins are deflowred, infants are taken out of their parents armes, and put to the sword, matrons do suffer villanie, temples and houses are spoyled, and euery place is full of armed men, of carcasses, of bloud, of teares. Secondly the opening of the cause hereof, which is nothing else but ambition, for out of this seed groweth a whole haruest of euils. Thirdly the declaring of the remedie, which is by humble estimation of our selues, by liuing well, not by lurking well: by conuersing in the light of the common weale with equals, not by complotting in darke conuenticles against superiors: by contenting our selues with our lot, and not contending to our losse: by hoping without aspiring, and by suffering without conspiring. Let Rome in this history be a witnesse, that a slipperie ascending was alwaies ac-

TO THE READER.

companied, with a headlong discent, and that peace
 is a great deale better then triumph, which will be
 an occasion I trust to my countrey men of England
 to be thankfull to God for this sweete quiet and se-
 renitie of this flourishing estate, in which England
 now standeth, wherein the day striueth with the
 night whether shall be calmer: and let it mooue thee
 whosoeuer thou art, courteous Reader, to pray with
 the earnest endeour of thy hart, that the Iris which
 is the pledge of our peace may still shine amongst
 vs, that the happie Virgin which is the starre of safety
 in the Zodiacke of this common weale may continue
 immouable, that our *Haleyon* may still sit in this
Albion, on this white rocke to make the seas calme,
 and the waues silent, and to preferue the league of
 heauen and earth, I meane true Religion amongst
 vs. From my Chamber in Graies Inne 13. Octob.
 Anno Dom. 1600.

Thine in all sincere affection,

WILLIAM FVLBECKE.

A Table of the Romaine forenames written with one letter.

A. Aulus.

C. Caius.

D. Decimus: for *Decius* it cannot be, because that was
 the name of a familie, and in the monuments of
 the Greeke writers, it is written *Δεκμιος* and not
Δεκιος.

L. Lucius.

M. M. Marcus Manius.

N. Numerius.

P. Publius.

Q. Quintus.

T. Titus.

Written with two letters.

Ap. Appius.

Cn. Cneus.

Op. Opiter.

Sp. Spurius.

Ti. Tiberius.

Written with three letters.

Mam. Mamercus.

Sex. Sextus.

Ser. Seruius.

Tul. Tullus.

The names of the bookes and Authors
out of which this historie was deriued.

Appianus.
Augustinus.
Cassiodorus.
Caesar.
Cicero.
Dio Nicæus & Dio Cassius.
Eutropius.
Florus.
Gellius.
Gentilis Albericus.
Hirtius.
Iornandes.
Iosephus.
Liber de viris illustribus.
Liber antiquitatum Romanarum.
Libri gentium & familiarum Romanarum.
Liuius.
Lucanus.
Manutius Paulus.
Obsequens.
Orosius.
Plinius.
Pedianus.
Plutarchus.
Salustius.
Seneca.
Sigonius.
Strabo.
Velleius
Valerius Maximus.
Zonaras.



CLOTHO,

Or the first booke.



When vainglorious Tarquine^{Tarquini banished,}
the last of the Romaine
kings for the shamefull rape
of Lucrece committed by
one of his sonnes, was bani-
shed from Rome & Consuls
succeeded, which as the name declares, had
charge of providing for the comon safetie &
securitie, the Romaines changed gold for
brasse, and loathing one king suffered manie
tyrants, scourging their follie with their fall,
and curing a festred sore with a poisoned plai-
ster; for what could be more vniust, or more
contrarie to the free estate of a citie, then to
subject the whole common weale to the rule
of manie potentates, and to exclude the peo-
ple from all right and interest in publique af-
fares? VVhat could be more absurd then the

Senators onely to bestow the Consulship, the soueraigntie in warres, the supremacie in superstitious offices, according to their fancie and affection, to call Senates at their pleasure, to conuocate assemblies when it seemed best for their owne profite, and to haue power of life and death vpon the bodies of their fellow citizens, & the people to liue like their slaues, being barred and restrained from marrying with the daughter of anie Senatour, as if that pray had bene too high for so low a wing, and being held in such disdain and disreputation that common fellowship and mutuall societie was denied them, which was indeede not to liue like free men in a citie, but like villaines and bondmen in a wainscot prison, and like fillie birds in a golden cage: but when after long experience they had found, that winter succeeded sommer, & that the withered welfare of their citie could not be reuiued without some fortunate spring: to the intent that moderation might be induced, and that the meaner sort might beare some stroke with the mightier, that the people might enioy the sweete of the citie as well as the fathers, they procured

procured a new office entituled the Tribuneship, whereby they might prote& themselves as with a shield against the arrogant endeours and outrageous decrees of the Senatours, and the fellowhip of mariage was brought in with the Senate, which before was prohibited the people, as if they had bene stained with some cōtagious iandise, or infected with some dangerous leprosie, and their suffrage was the made necessarie to the election of officers, which before was as rare in that cōmon-weale as a white skin in Æthiopia. The people hauing thus erected their power, did by degrees more and more enhaunce it, till by many alterations it was turned from an Aristocracie, from the rule of them that were manie and mightie, to a plaine and visible Democracie or estate popular, administred by the voyces of the multitude and magistrates, and by the vnited consent of the whole corporatiō. Now when the people had by continuall incroachments assumed and seased into their handes the giuing and bestowing of the greater offices, as the Consulship, that strong tower of the Senatous authoritie, and besides that the

Dictatorship, the Censorship, the warlike Empire, the priestly dignitie, and many other most excellent honors, which before did solely belong to the Peeres of Rome, and now there wanted nothing to make their power equall, but onely that Plebiscites, that is, decrees made by the people, should binde the greater powers, as well as the people themselves, frō which at that time the whole companie of the Nobles were exempted. Therefore to make them generall, and of like force against all, they wrested from the fathers after much businesse, the law Hortensia, by which it was enacted that in euery important matter the people should be equally interested with the Senate, and that the lawes so made and ratified by them, should stretch as well to the Senators, as to the people themselves. After that the common-weale was brought to this good and temperate constitution, many profitable lawes were established, many victories followed, many cities bowed vnto them, manie monarchies sued for their fauour, manie tyrants feared their puissance, & manie countreys dreaded their inuasion. Then there flourished

rished in Rome most admirable examples of abstinencie, modestie, iustice, fortitude, and which was the seale of their securitie, an vniuersall vnitie and agreement. Then the same of their Curij, their Coruncani, their Fabritij, their Metelli, their Fabij, their Marcelli, their Scipioes, their Pauli, their Lepidi, did ring in the world, whose great magnanimitie & wisdom in the tumult of warres, together with their singular temperance, and loyaltie in the calme of peace, is to be wondred at of all, and of all to be reuerenced. But when either the Senate or people did passe the lists and limits of æquall regiment, the ancient and vertuous orders of the citie were immediatly troden vnder foote, and their good and laudable customs were encountred and put to flight by dissolute and vnbridled enormities: then the Asiaticall triumphs did incorporate into the citie a womanish wantonnesse, then proude ambition mounted her plume of disdain vpon the top of the Capitolle, then their excessive pride and iouissance for their victories had against Pyrrhus, for their cōquest of Carthage, for the ouerthrow of Philip, Perseus,

Antiochus, mightie kings, for the winning of Spaine, Sicilie, Sardinia, Illyria, Macedonia and Greece, being as yet fresh in their memories, were as bellowses to puffe vp their swelling humours. Thē there succeeded a dismall discord, which beginning when the estate was at the highest, did not end or expire, till it fell to the lowest ebbe, sticking fast in the sands of a grieuous desolation. If a man will retrospectiuely measure the space of former times, & the whole compasse of yeares, wherein the fortunes of the Romanes were by God his hand turned about, he shall finde that all the weight of their affaires, before the incohesion of the Empire of Augustus, may be dispersed into sixe ages; wherof the first containing the number of fiftie yeares, was spent in the making of a towne; for that gorgeous seate which
 Rome built. nowe we call Rome, was then but a plot of ground, to which houses were wanting, but afterward a great multitude of Latine & Tuscan shepheards, together with Phrygians & Arcadians, flowing to that place, as to a temple reuerenced by pilgrims and trauellers, the common-weale was compacted of these seuerall

uerall people, as a bodie of diuerse elements. Romulus the founder of their citie & empire, did delight wholly in mountaines, riuers, woods, marishes and wastes, playing perhaps the espiall, to discouer and find out in what place it were best to erect a citie, and how to conuey things necessarie vnto it, and how to adorne it with continual increment and addition of demeisnes; to such imaginations the fields and places desolate were most accordant, and to his sauage societie this practise of life was most acceptable.

The second age which chalengerh other fiftie yeares, did ingender in them working spirits and loftie cogitations, which eneagred and inflamed their mindes, against the confiners & borderers: then it first began to beare the countenance and shape of a kingdome, which was after enlarged to the shore of the Midland and Adriaticke seas, which they rather vsed as bridges to other nations, then as bounders to their owne.

The third age whose steps were an hundred and fiftie yeares, was the crowne and consummation of their kingdome, in which whatsoe-

uer was done was done by the for the pompe,
glorie and magnificence of that estate: as yet
the Romane pride was in her blade, and in the
tenderneſſe of her minoritie, this threefold
age was ſpent vnder ſeuē kings, differing by
fatall prouidence in the diſpoſition of their
nature, as the frame and condition of that
common-weale did eſpecially require: for
who was euer more fierce and ardent then

Romulus ea-
greſt in fight.

Numa reli-
gious.

Tullus an ar-
tificiall Cap-
taine.

Aucus a
great builder

Tarquinius
his ornaments

Seruius tax-
eth the Ro-
manes by
polles.

Romulus? Such a one they needed to inuade
the kingdomes of others. VVho more reli-
gious then Numa? Such the time did aſke,
that the furie of the people might be mitiga-
ted by the feare of God: VVherefore was
Tullus that artificiall champion giuen vnto
them? That he might ſharpen their valour by
his wit. VVherefore Aucus the great builder?
That he might extend their citie with colo-
nies, ioyne it together with bridges, enuiron
it with walles. The ornaments, enſignes and
braueries of Tarquinius, did with rayes of
dignitie illuſtrate and decore that estate. Ser-
uius taxing them by polles, brought to paſſe
that the Romane commō-weale might know
her riches. And the importune domination of
proud

proud Tarquine did verie much profite; for
the people afflicted by iniuries, did force a
paſſage to their libertie.

Proud Tar-
quine occa-
ſioner of li-
bertie.

The fourth age was as it were the youth of
the Romane monarchie, when the flower of
their prowefſe being greene, and the bloud of
their mindes bloſſoming in their faces and
armes, the ſhepherdly ſauagenefſe did as yet
breath forth the reliques of an vndaunted
ſtomacke. Then flouriſhed theſe Romane ha-
zards, and miracles Cocles, Scevola, Cloætia,
which chronicles do therefore witneſſe, that
poſteritie may wonder. Then were the Tuſ-
canes repulſed and the Latines and Volſciās
daily and deadly enemies, vanquiſhed by the
triumphant husbandman L. Quintius Cin-
cinnatus, which war he ended within fifteene
dayes, as if he had made haſt to returne to his
village. Then were overcome the Vientes,
the Falſcians, and the Fidenates: then the
Galles a couragious nation, vſing their bo-
dies for armour, in all reſpects ſo terrible, that
they might ſeeme to be borne for the death
of men, and deſtruction of cities, were vt-
terly vanquiſhed: then were overcome the

The ſpeedie
war of Cin-
cinnatus.

The praise
of Capania.

Sabines and Samnites wasting and dispoiling the fields of Campania, being the goodliest plot, the Diamond-sparke and the hony-spot of all Italic: there is no land more temperate for aire, for it hath a double spring-tide: no soile more fertile, and therefore it is called the combat of Bacchus & Ceres, no region more hospitable in regard of the sea, here be the noble hauens Caieta, Misenus, & the healthfull bathes Lucrine and Auerne, the resting places of the sea. Here the mountaines clad with vines Gaurus, Falernus, Massitus, and the frie hill Vesurius: here the famous citie Capua third sister to Rome and Carthage doth imperiously stand. They begirt Samniū with warre and bloud on all sides, till they had ruined her verie ruines, and reuilled in her bowels, and twelue seuerall nations of Tuscana waging hote and furious battell against them, in such sort and terrible maner, as if darts had bene throwne at the Romans from the coulds, were likewise suppressed. In this age happened the Tarentine warre, in which the armie of Pyrrhus continually slaying was continually slaine, and reuenge did liue in the death

Pyrrhus fighting
against
the Romans.

death of the Romanes: so that Pyrrhus did thinke him selfe to be borne vnder Hercules his starre, who hauing cut off the seuen heads of Hydra, seuen other did spring vp. But from this Captaine the Romanes plucked such spoiles, that neuer fairer were caried in triumph. For before this day nothing passed in triumph, but the heards of the Volscian cattell, and the flocks of the Sabine sheepe, the broken wagons of the Gaules, & the crushed harnesse of the Samnites: but in this triumph, if you respect the prisoners, they were Molossians, Thessalians, Macedonians, Brutians, Apulians, Lucans: if you regard the pompe, it was gold, purple, curious pictures, tablets, and the delights of Tarentum. Next to this was the victorie of the Pisani and Salentini: this age shewed her force the space of two hundred and fiftie yeares.

Then followed the fifth age, in which the bodie of the common weale grew to great strength, the ioints and sinewes being by mature soliditie settled in firme estate. Therefore the conquering nation hauing now attained to the verie manhood of manlineffe, and dis-

played her stander round about the sides of Italie, to the skirts of the sea, pawed a litle, as a great scalefire, which consuming all the woods and groues in the way that it goeth, is abrupted and put out of course by a floud coming betweene. But soone after seeing a rich pray on the other side of the sea, supposing it to be a peece of gold pulled from her masse; they did so vehemently desire the same, that because it could not be ioyned vnto their dominion by bridges for the interruption of the sea, therefore they resolved to ioyne it by sword and battell: and so was Sicilia subdued by the Romanes, which was the cause and originall of the first Carthaginian warre, which the warres of the Ligurians, Insabrians and Illyrians did follow: and after the second Carthaginian warre, so dangerous and bloudie to the Romanes, that if a man compare the losse of both nations, they which did conquer, were more like to persons conquered. For it grieved that noble brood, and valiant people of Carthage to be abridged of the sea, deprived of the Ilands, to pay tribute, and to vndergo not onely the bridle, but the yoke: to this age must

The beginning of the second Carthaginian war.

must be ascribed the circuit of one hundred yeares, which may be termed the golden age of the Romanes, & the first age in which they shewing their streamers on each side of the Ocean, did transport their warres into all nations of the world, in whose yeares the Romanes were honest, religious, iust, sincere, vertuous, and dutifull.

The sixt age containing 120. yeares was troublesome and vgly, bloudie & detestable, vices growing with their Empire. For with the wars valiantly fought against Iugurtha, & Mithridates, against the Carthaginians, Cimbrians, Parthians, Galles & Germanes, by which the Romane glorie ascended and pierced the skie, the ciuill slaughters of the Gracchi, and of Drusus, of Marius, Sylla and others were mingled and enterlarded: how mournfull a spectacle was it, that they fought the same time with fellowes in league, with fellowes in the citie, with bondmen, with fencers, all the Senate: afterward contending and being in hurliburly with it selfe? These times receiued of the other ages an exquisite commo weale; as it were a curious picture, which after mil-

dring and decaying by age, they did not only neglect to renew, with the same colours, but they also forgot to preserve the outward forme and lineaments thereof, for what remained of the auncient maners, which were both vnused and vnknowne: for by their recent vices they lost the common-weale in fact, and in name retained it. How lamentable was the face of things at that instant? when euerie man confusedly being found in the field, in the streetes, in townes, in houses, in highwaies, in markets, in temples, in beds, sitting at the table or in the porch, was suddenly and sauagely murdered? what howlings were there of them that died? what teares of them that liued, and beheld this? The cause of these miseries was too great prosperitie. VVhat made the people so earnest to extort the lawes of fields and corne, but verie famine procured by riot on the one part, and couetousnesse on the other? for such was the lauish mis-spending, & excessiue vianding of some, that it can hardly be defined, whether more did perish by the blade or by the banquet, and such againe was the couetousnesse, & greedie exacting

exacting of others, that none can iudicially decide, whether the Romanes were more endamaged by the enemie in time of warre, or by the vsurer in peaceable seasons. Hence grew the two ciuil broiles of the Gracchi, and that of Saturninus being the third, and that of Drusus being the fourth, who maintained the Senate against the Knights: and for the further abetting and auow of this quarell, he promised the freedome of the Citie to diuerse Italians animated to this attempt, so that in one Citie there was as much discord as in two seuerall camps. This bred the Italian warre, because promise was not perfourmed. And next ensued the warre of Mithridates, seeing the Romans on each side intangled with garboiles, which presently bred the enmitie betwixt Marius and Sylla, when Marius would haue deuested Sylla of his Generallship giuen him by the Senat for the oppugnation of Mithridates. These two gaue Mithridates encouragement, by leauing the ribbes of the common-weale naked and open vnto him, Marius led an armie, ambition led Marius: ambition I say ingendred by riches, did raise contention

The Italian
warre.

Mithridates
an enemy to
the Romans.

The conten-
tion betwixt
Marius and
Sylla.

betwixt them : from this the warre of Sertorius and Pompey had his originall, whereof the one was proscribed by Sylla, the other protected. For Pompey was accompted Syllaes minion or fauorite, whom he therefore called Magnus, that him selfe might seeme greater, being the Saint v whom Pompey serued. Sylla was cruell in reuenging crueltie, and his medicine was worse then the maladie it selfe. This stirred the dissention of Lepidus and Catulus, whereof the one would haue ratified, the other reuersed, all the acts of Sylla. Then Catiline whom his lust occasioned by Syllaes indulgence brought to beggerie, opposed him selfe to the Consuls. Then Pompey entred the lists, as a follower of Sylla, who obtained excellent dignitie in these times, but ciuill, and such as the regular course of that common-weale did afford, whose power & authoritie Cæsar could not tolerate, because he could not match it: which notwithstanding he being ouercome and slaine, Cæsar passed and transcended. But when this vsurper had bleached the floore of the Senate house with his owne bloud, who before had ouerflowed and

The dissention of Lepidus and Catulus.

Catelines rebellion,

Pompeys great dignity in Rome.

Cæsar can not brooke it.

and deluged the whole world, with the crimson goare of most admirable men, the common-weale did seeme to haue rolled her selfe into the state of her pristinate libertie, and it had returned vnto the same, if either Pompey had not left sonnes, or Cæsar had not made an heire, or, which was worse, if Antonius the thunder-dart of furie had not suruiued, being once colleague with Cæsar in the Consullship, now successor of his vsurpation. But while Pompeys sonne striueth for the honor of the name, the sea ratleth with armour: whilest Octavius reuēgeth the death of his adoptiue father, Thessalie is againe made the basis of tents and pauillions, and all Europe and Africke groneth vnder the weight of iron, whilest Antonius in the habit of his mind diuerse and discoloured, doth either disdain Octavius or doate vpon Cleopatra, whose beautie if he could haue exceeded by his chastitie, his shame should not haue blazed like a beacon at this day in the eyes of posteritie, but he had won the garlād of cōquest, not meriting more then triumph. The armie of Octavius hauing slaine Pompeis sonne, did in him slay enmity,

and Cassius being overcome by fight, Brutus by despaire, they did extirpate faction. Yet Antonius not chalinging part with anie, but principalitie ouer all, imagining that he wanted no kingly thing saue onely a kingdome, remained as a rocke or gulfe in the mouth of the hauē, whom he with some labor subdued. And, as in the yearly conuersion of the heauens, it commeth to passe, that the starres iogged together do murmure and threaten tempest, so with the alteration of the Romane state, before Octavius founded his Monarchie, the whole globe of the earth with ciuill and forraine warre, with fight on sea and land was terribly shaken. But the accidents and occurrences of these last hundred and twentie yeares, in the sequele of this historie shall be, if God fauour these lines, more particularly & distinctly reported. The first that made the Romanes mightie was the former Scipio that scourged Affrica with continuall warres and vexations, and in the end subdued it: the first that made them wanton and effeminate, was the later Scipio, by whom Carthage was subuerted, yet not by his fault, but by the casualty of

The valor of
the former
Scipio.

The prowesse
of the later
Scipio.

of the time. For when the riual and enuious ielousie of the Carthaginian glory, was by his matchlesse victorie finally determined, the Romanes did sodainly degenerate, and with an hungrie gorge fed on the poisonfull baites of bitter sweete ambition, following wantons like wilde horses, and addicted to pleasure as their onely paragon, the auncient gouernement of the Citie was vtterly forsaken, the watchings of the campe were ended vpon beds of downe, their heauie armour was turned to light and fashionable attire, and the wonted businesse of the Citie was chaunged into idlenesse. Then did Scipio Nasica build porches in the Capitolle, then did Metellus threaten the heauē with haughtie buildings, thē did Cn. Octavius erect a most sumptuous forefront, & then did the riot of the Cōmons imitate the magnificence of the nobles. In the midst of this delicate iolitie, when the Romanes were now in the ruffe of their pride, a grievous and despitefull warre was raised in Spaine by Viriathus of Lusitania, a notable theefe & ringleader to a multitude of rogues, which lieng a long time in suspence: but in the

The Romans
made wiston
by prosperity

Viriathus on
enemy to the
Romanes.

end when Viriathus was slaine, rather by the couine then courage of Seruilius Cæpio, a greater danger ensued, namely the warre of the Numantines. The citie of Numantia did neuer afford armour to any more, then ten thousand citizens at one battell; but either through the fiercenesse of their nature, or the default of the Romane captaines, or the indulgence of fortune, they brought Pompey the first of the Pompeys that was Consull, a mā of note & fame to most shamefull leagues, & Mancinus Hostilius, to a detestable truce; which vpon a remorse of minde, and change of opinion, against the law of Armes, and to the great discredit of the Romanes, he afterward broke: but Pompey escaped vnpunished by fauour, Mancinus was punished by shame. For he was caried and transported by the Romane Heraulds vnto the Numantines, his hands being manacled, and so was deliuered vp into the enemies power, whom they refused to receiue, saying that a publique breach of promise was not to be punished by the bloud of one man. This yeelding vp of Mancinus into the enemies hands, did cause in the citie

The Numantine warre.

Pompey enforced to strange leagues by the Numantines.

The punishment of Mancinus for breaking truce.

citie a perillous and pernicious dissension. For Ti. Gracchus the sonne of the right noble man Ti. Gracchus, whose mother was the daughter of Scipio Affricanus, by whose meanes and authority that reprochfull league was made, taking it grieuously that any thing which he did should be discountenanced, and fearing himselfe the danger either of the like punishment or of the like iudgement, being at that time Tribune of the people, in life innocent, in wit pregnant, and in purpose guiltlesse: and furthermore adorned with so great vertues, as either nature could afford, or industrie could perfect, or mans frailtie could containe. P. Mutius Scæuola, and L. Calpurnius being Consuls fell from vertue to vice, and extreme villanie: and hauing promised vpon a dissolute fancie, that he would enfranchise and receiue into the Citie anie Italian whosoever, turned all things into a contrarie state, mingled vertues with vice, lawes with lust, and brought the common-weale into an headlong and hideous danger. Octavius his fellow in office, who stood against him for the cōmon good, he put from his place, & created

The parents of Ti. Gracchus.

The praise of Ti. Gracchus

Gracchus swarteth & 6 vertue.

A Treuirate first made in Rome.

The familie
of Scipio Na-
fica.

Scipio Nafica
opposeth
himselfe to
Gracchus.

a new state in Rome entitled a Treuirate or Triarchie, that is the rule of three men, who were called Treuri, him self for one, his father in law Appius who had bin Cōsul for another and C. Gracchus his brother for the third. At that time flourished P. Scipio Nafica, nephew to him, who was iudged of the Senate in his life time to be the best of the Romanes, sonne to that Scipio who purchased great praise for his good demeanor in the Censorship, nephew two degrees remoued to Cn. Scipio a man highly commended, vncle to Scipio Æmilianus whose commendation lieth in his name: this Scipio Nafica thogh he were nearly linked in kindred to Tiberius Gracchus, yet preferring his countrey before his kindred, thinking nothing priuately comodious which was not publikly conuenient, standing in the higher part of the Capitolle, exhorted all the Romanes, which desired the safetie of the common-weale, to follow him, vpon which words the Nobles, the Senate, and the greater and better part of the Romane knights did runne suddenly vpon Gracchus, standing in the floore of the Capitolle with his adherēts, and

and euen then conspiring with a frequent assemblie of new-come Italians, he thereupon flying and running downe the hil whereupon the Capitolle was founded, his head being cruellied as he was running downe, with a fragment of one of the boordes which was in the Senate house, did sodainly end his life, which he might haue enioyed with great honor and quietnesse.

Ti. Gracchus
slaine.

This broile and haplesse dissention was the first conspiracy in which ciuil blood was shed, and the first dispensation of drawing swordes within the walles: after that time right was oppressed by violence, and the mightier man was accompted the better, the quarels of citizens that were wont to be cured by compromise and agreement, were now decided by sword and bloudshed, and warres were not followed according to the goodnesse of the cause, but according to the greatnesse of the pray. But it was no maruell, though this small beginning had so great effect, and this odious faction so vnfortunate consequence, for examples do not pawse there where they begin, but being once receiued into a narrow strait,

they make way to themselves, raunging and spreading themselves ouer the bodie of the world; and when men go once astray, they mind not how farre they go, thinking that nothing can procure dishonestie to them, which hath brought profite to others.

VVhilest these things were done in Italie, Scipio Affricanus of the house of Æmilius, who destroyed Carthage, after many slaughters of his enemies in the Numantine warre, being nowe againe made Consull, was sent backe into Spaine, where his courage and successe did match and æquall his valure and fortune in Affricke, and within a yeare and three moneths after his comming thither, he tooke Numantia, and caused euerie stone to be throwne to the ground, as a notable monument of a Romane victorie. There was neuer anie man of anie name or nation, that by the sacking of cities did more æternise his house or enlarge his glorie: for hauing roored vp Carthage, he deliuered the Romanes from feare, and hauing razed Numantia, he deliuered them from reproch. Being returned into the Citie within a short time, after

two

two Consullships, two victories, and two notable triumphs, he was found dead in his bed, his iaw bone being dissolued and dislocated. There was no inquisition made afterward of the death of this inuincible Captaine: the bodie of Scipio was brought out into the streete his head couered, by whose great labours and warlike exploits, Rome lifted vp her head ouer all the world, to the terrour and dismay of other cities and countreys. His death was, as the most say fatall, as some say conspired: his life doubtlesse was of that singularity, that it was ouercome of no mans glorie, but onely his grandfathers.

Scipio found
dead in his
bed,

Scipios body
is brought
out into the
streetes,

After the death of Ti. Gracchus, the same fury and rage of mind that posselt him, entred as it were by a kind of transmutation into his brother C. Gracchus, a man as like to Tiberius in his vertues as in his errour, who when with great facilitie and ease of mind he might haue bene the Prince of the Citie and the ruler of the Senate, tooke the Tribuneship vpon him to raise tumults, to licence swords, and to reuiue discord, to no other intent or purpose but either to reuenge his brothers death, or

C. Gracchus
a rebell
to the state.

E

Scipio is sent
into Spaine.

Scipio taketh
Numantia.

purchase to himselfe a soueraigntie; and for the more hastie pursuing of his drift, he bestowed the freedome of the Citie vpon euery inhabitant of Italy: he interdicted and forbad by Tribunial law, that no citizen should possesse more then fise hundred akers of land, he created new hauens; he filled the prouinces with new colonies; he transferred the authoritie of iudgement frō the Senate to the Nobles; he determined to distribute and deuide come amongst the people: to be brieft, he left almost nothing vnaltered or vndisturbed. This man was slaine by the sharpe and hastie pursuite of L. Opimius Consull who was in armes against him; and Fulcius Flaccus was likewise slaine, one that had enioyed both the Consullship and the honor of Triumph, a man of a darestable meaning, whom C. Gracchus had denominated and designed to be one of the Treuir in the place of Tiberius his brother, being his associate in all his enterprises, and defiled with the like dishonest intendment. Opimius caused proclamation to be made, that whosoener could bring vnto him the head of Gracchus, should haue the weight

Opimius his
proclamation

Ful. Flaccus
a rebellious
Senatour
slaine.

The fediti-
ous act of
C. Gracchus.

of the head in gold. Flaccus inciting his soldiers on the hill Auentine, was there slaine, together with his eldest sonne, C. Gracchus committing himselfe to flight lest he might fall into the hands of them whō Opimius had sent to take him, putting his bare necke vnder the naked sword of his seruant Euporus; was of him beheaded: and the same Euporus was suddenly a slaughter-man to himselfe. Thus the two Gracchi finished the course of their life, men that had a fortunate beginning, sinister proceedings, & a cursed ending, to whom if they had embraced quietnesse, the commoweale wold haue offered these honors, which by tumult and disquietnesse they sought, their mother Cornelia as yet liuing, a vertuous and learned Ladie; who hauing nurtured and trained them vp in the studie of learning and vertuous demeanour, did greatly bewaile, that her good endeuors had so bad successe; and that her two sonnes, whom nature pretended to be the solace of her age, were so sodainely and shamefully disgraced; that she could not see their bodies couered with earth, they being in most despitefull maner throwne into

C. Gracchus
beheaded.

Cornelia la-
menteth her
children.

Tiber; whose mindes she had furnished and beautified with such excellent learning, so was her ioy overcome and surprised with griefe, that she must either loath her children, or else lament for them, but howsoeuer, for euer lacke them.

In that tract of time C. Marius waging battaile in Numidia against Iugurtha, who were both fellow souldiers and managed armes together vnder Scipio Affricanus, sent L. Sylla his Quæstor to Bocchus the King of the Mores, to treat and capitulate with him about the taking of Iugurth, whom by that meane he enioyed, and being made the second time Consull, in the beginning of his Consulship and in the Calends of Ianuary, he brought Iugurth in triumph to Rome. The Cimbrians & Teutons at that time did cause great slaughter and manie massacres of the Romanes in France, and hauing put to flight and discomfited Cæpio, Manlius, Carbo, and Silanus; they killed in fight Scaurus Aurelius one of the Consuls, and other excellent men of memorable qualities. The people of Rome did not thinke anie Generall so fit to encounter

C. Marius
taketh Iu-
gurtha by
Sylla his
aidance.

ter

ter these foes as C. Marius: & whilest he was in these warres, he was continually Consull, his third Consulship he spent in warlike preparation, thinking it not sufficient to haue souldiers, but to haue practised and skilfull souldiers, training them by petty skirmishes, and encouraging the by the conquest of base townes, to more haughtie and valorous attempts: his fourth Consulship was spent about the warres of Sextus, where he fought with the Teutons: and before that warre finished, he razed out of the world the whole progenie of the Teutons. In his fifth Consulship he planted his fight betwixt the Alpes and Rome, and in that battell Marius him self being Consull, and Q. Catulus Proconsul, a fortunate victorie ensued, farre beyond the expectation of the Romanes, and the admiration of strangers, an hundred thousand men being brought into the power of the Romans wherof some were slaine & some were slaues. By this victorie Marius deserued, that Rome should not repent her selfe of his birth, nor requite his acts with reproch. His sixth Consulship was giuen him as the crowne of his merits,

C. Marius his
third Con-
sulship.

His fourth
Consulship.

His fifth Co-
sulship.

Marius his
great victo-
rie which he
had against
the Cimbri-
ans.

C. Marius his
sixth Con-
sulship.

Saturninus a
broacher of
sedition.

yet he is not to be defrauded of the glorie,
which during this Consullship did of right be-
long vnto him, euen by the confession of the
enuious. Marius being the sixt time Consul,
Saturninus one of the Tribunes of the peo-
ple, did promulgate a lawe, that what lands
or demesnes Marius had gained in France by
his expulsion of the Cimbrians from thence,
should be equally parted & deuided amongst
the people of Rome, and that euery Senator
should sweare to this, thinking to bind them
by their oath from dispossessing and disseising
the people of these alotmēts and purparties.

Q. Metellus
opposeth
himselfe a-
gainst Satur-
ninus.

Marius fa-
uoureth the
lawe of Sa-
turninus.

Metellus co-
mitteth him-
selfe to vo-
luntarie ba-
nishment.

Q. Metellus a Senator, against whom Satur-
ninus had a burning stomacke, denied to ra-
tifie that lawe by oath, wherupon he had day
giuen him to appeare before the Senate. For
Marius being wholly addicted to please the
people in all things, which did not oppugne
his owne profite, did greatly fauour the law.
Metellus though he were supported in this a-
ction by many good and vertuous citizens,
yet fearing some bloudshed in the citie by
maintaining that cause, committed himselfe
to voluntarie exile, and shortly after water &
fire

fire was forbidden him, which was the title &
stile of the banishment vsed in Rome. This
Saturninus was afterward made the third
time Tribune, and because he feared that C.
Memmius, who at that time sued for the Cō-
sulship, would with maine force oppose him-
selfe to his actions and enterprises, he gathe-
red a garrison of souldiers, and caused him to
be slaine. Marius presently rowzing himselfe
for the punishmēt and reuenge of this proud
Tribune, and by Senate-councill authorised,
charged his bodie with harnesse, and with a
troupe of warlike citizens besieged the Capi-
toll, which Saturninus and the Prætor Glan-
cias, together with Saufseius the Quæstor his
adherents did hold as the castle of their de-
fence. But Marius cutting in peeces the con-
duit pipes, enforced them to yeeld, and to
submit themselues promising the life, liuing,
and libertie; but when he had them in his po-
wer, he made hauocke of them all leauing not
one aliue; the house of Saturninus he razed
from the lowest foundation. VVhen the con-
spiracie of Saturninus was appeased, there
began offresh a new quarell betwixt the Se-

Saturninus
causeth C.
Memmius
to be slaine.

C. Marius
besiegeth
the Capitoll.

C. Marius
putteth the
conspirators
to death.

Saturninus
his house de-
stroyed by
Marius.

nators and M. Liuius Drusus a noble Gentleman, eloquent and modest, nature being as bountifull vnto him, as fortune was iniurious; he had alwayes a great desire to restore the former honor to the Senate, and to transferre the iudiciall power from the Nobles: for they being posselt of that authoritie by the law of C. Gracchus, which is aboue mentioned, did practise extreme and brutish crueltie vppon manie excellent Senators and guiltlesse Citizens, and amongst the rest was slaine P. Rutilius, a man in that age incomparable: yet the fortune of Drusus was such, that he was crossed and confronted by the Senate, in those matters which he moued for the good & behoofe of the Senate, they either not perceiuing, or not willing to perceiue, that though the petitions which Drusus made as Tribune, and as of dutie he ought, sounded and indeed tended to the profite of the people, yet his drift to be this, that the people hauing lesser things graunted them, might permit greater to the Senate, that so giuing them a litle the reyne, they might enioy the fruite of libertie, but yet might easily be plucked in if there were

The hard
fortune of
Drusus.

were anie feare of disorder: which was the onely meane to preserue the dignitie of the Senate, and to restraine the humours of the people, but the eyes of the Senators were so dazeled with enuie toward Drusus, with enmitie toward the people, and selfe-loue toward their owne persons, that they did more allow the pernicious practises of the other Tribunes, then the dutifull meaning of Drusus: despising the reuerence wherwith Drusus did alwayes honour them, and yet digesting the iniuries wherwith his fellow Tribunes did molest them: which vniust and absurd dealing did euidently proceed from the gall of their enuie. Then this good Tribune hauing his mind surcharged with discontentment, seeing that his honest purpose was maliciously peruerred, lacking patience to beare his grieve, and constancie to perseuere in his commendable intents, resolued sodainly in a desperat passion to maintaine the faction of the Gracchi, to entertaine into his heart rebellion, to swarue from vertue, to prostrate himselfe to the violence of fortune, and being garded with a great multitude of vnknowne soldiers,

Drusus is
slaine.

who were seditious Italians, whom Drusus laboured to make free-men of the Estate, he thought to terrifie the citie, but within a short time he was slaine in his owne porch, his side being pierced with a knife, which sheathed in his entrailes, and was left there sticking and filling the mouth of the wound, but when he yeelded vp to the heauens his vitall spirit, casting his eyes vpon the companie that stood about him, & lamenting that dismall chance, he breathed out these words at the last instant
 „ and with the surrender of his soule: Tell me
 „ my friends and kinsfolke, may the common-
 „ weale at any time enioy a more faithfull citi-
 „ zen, then I haue heretofore bene? This ende
 of life had that noble Gentleman, who if he
 had bene armed with patience, might haue
 triumphed ouer enuy. Caius Marius was now
 become the refuge and defender both of Se-
 nate and people: he was of bodie hard fauor-
 red, in maners rigorous, famous for warre, &
 odious in peace, insatiable in ambitious de-
 sires, impatient in his wrath, and alwayes at-
 tempting some strange noueltie: he did not
 long after valiantly endeuor to suppress the
 flames

C. Marius in
high reputa-
tion.

flames and perillous scalefire of the Italian warre, which because it was most dangerously begun and continued, & with great difficultie quenched and ended, I thinke it not amisse to make full description thereof, laying for my foundation the cause which moued the Italians or Latines to reuolt from the Romans, and to breake their faith before constantly kept. But the causes of things are so secret & mysticall, being the most remote objects, to which our vnderstanding may aspire, that we may easily be deceiued by disguised and pretenced reasons, whilest we seeke for the true and essential causes. For to report things that be done it is easie, because the eye and the tongue may dispatch it, but to discouer and vnfold the causes of things, requireth braine, soule, and the best prowesse of mans nature, wherefore to find out the causes of this warre, diligence must be vsed. This warre is of diuerse men diuersly named, some terme it the Italian, some the Marsian, some the Social war: all which haue sufficient reason to make good their seuerall appellations. The Italian warre it was tearmed, because it was raised by

such Italians, as were in league with the Romanes; which was the occasion of the intercourse of many good turnes and benefits betwixt them and the Romanes: for though they did not inioy the liberties of the city of Rome in such large and ample manner, as the citizens or free men of that Citie; yet they possessed them in farre greater measure, then others which were meere straungers to that Estato, and that by the law of societie, which to the Romanes was alwayes sacred and inuiolate: this warre therfore vpon their reuolt was termed Sociale, as maintained by them who had contracted & established a league of societie. The Marſian war it was called, because the first commotion was attempted by the Marſians, a free people of Italie. The cause & the beginning of this war do in time greatly differ, for the cause hath a retrospect to the first times of the Romane monarchie, when the people of Italie being greatly infested and endamaged by the continuall inuasions of the Romanes, did watch oportunitie, and with serious expectation attended; if by any possible meanes they might requite the Romanes with the like,

The Italian warre first attempted by the Marſians

like, and recover their auncient rights and iurisdictiones, and at one instant breake both the league and shake off the feare which they then had of the Romanes, and which was the last marke of their enterprise, rather commaund then condition with the Romanes. But as there is no euill without excuse, and no pretence without some colour of reason, and no wiles can be wanting to malicious & wrangling wits; therefore an occasion was sought for, whereby peace might be dissolved, and discord warranted. Here now appeareth the error wherein Drusus was intangled. For they made him an instrument or lute to draw vnto them the free vse of the Romane liberties, which in truth they did neither greatly desire, nor strongly hope for, but they looked for a repulse; and thought that would be a good occasion to ground their tumults vpon, and as it were a vaile for their leud endeouours: whereby it is euident that as the cause of this warre is ancient, so the beginning thereof is to be referred to the repulse of Drusus, which happened sixe hundred sixtie and two yeares after the building of Rome. These commo-

The repulse of Drusus the beginning of the Italian warre.

tioners of Italie had this purpose and intent, at their festiual meetings to ioyn their heads and hands together, and so to proceed to the Citie, there to worke the death of the two Consuls Sex. Iulius Cæsar, and Martius Philippus: but this matter being discovered, they did presently put to death Seruilius Proconsull, who was sent vnto them at the first beginning of their stirres, by peaceable & reasonable meanes to appease and determine them, and all the other Romanes which were at Asculum, were slaine. This bloudie deed being reported at Rome, did greatly plunge the minds of the Romanes in doubt and sorrow. For this slaughter was as it were an Adamant to draw the other Italians, who did not conspire in this murder to their part, and as a fiery beaçon to the Romanes, to giue them warning not to prescribe too much in their prosperitie, but to be circumspect, & by all warie preuention to anticipate these euils, which if it should haue bene neglected of them, would presently haue turned to such a cloud of inconueniences, that the fire which did before serue to giue light, would after haue bent his force

Seruilius
Proconsull
slaine by the
cōmotioners
of Italie.

force to burne and consume: for the next neighbour to admonition is correction, and it is easier to auoide then to escape a danger. But the Romanes with prouident care foreseeing that the defection and reuolt of them who were linked in societie with them, might be a great maim to their Estate, & as it were a ladder for forreine and professed enemies to scale the walles of their Citie, did therefore in this war make speciall choise, both of Captaines and souldiers: for meane men were not to be employed in a warre of so great importance, and they that were vnskilfull, were not in the midst of these eminent dangers, to be trained and taught. And because they saw that the commodious ending and composing of this war, was the hinge whereupon the whole estate of the Common-weale did depende; therefore it was decreed by Senate, that both the Consuls (a rare thing in that Common-weale, and neuer done but when exceeding daunger was feared) should go in person to the managing of this warre. Neither were the Italiās vnprovided or vnaduised: for they knew, that if they were cōquered, they should

fall from the estate of fellowes to be slaues, & their league should neuer more be trusted, which them selues had broken: and if they should enioy the victorie, that they should then haue all the wealth of the world at command. This golden bootie being enameld with a sweete desire of reuenging old iniuries (for they had written them in marble with a pen of yron) did greatly incense their minds, and rauish their spirits with a burning affectiō to fight. The Marsians who brought the first stubble to kindle this flame, were gouerned by Silo Popedius, a man as it seemed by destiny opposed against the Romanes, to whose cares nothing was so delightfull as the report of a Romanes death, hating that hower in which he did not impeach their good estate. He in this respect was diuerse from manie of his cōntrimen, in that he detested a Romane because he was a Romane. VVherefore hauing singled out some of his factiō, who were partly by the instinct of their nature, partly by his instigation, obdurate and eager in hatred against the Romanes, hauing proposed and shewed vnto them the scope and drifte where-

Silo Popedius a natural enemy to the Romans.

whereunto his purpose did aime, and hauing disclosed the meanes, whereby he hoped to compasse and effect his designements, and lastly hauing declared vnto them the rewards which they might gaine by their valor, he did labour by this speech to inflame their furie, I am moued and enforced to this new enterprise, not by anie ambitious desire of enhancing my estate, but because I see a poisonous baite of deceit hidden vnder the pretence of Societie, because I see too great charges & burdens to be imposed vpon vs, because I see leud forreiners to be our commaunders, and originarie Italians, though men of good desert, kept vnder the snaffle, and placed in the sinke-hole. I see the credite of our nation defaced, the libertie destroyed, and the state ouerthrowne, and for our great labours vnder-taken, and dangers sustained for the Romans, we haue this reward, that we are despised by them, and they haue not thought it sufficient to be aided by vs, vnlesse in the pride of their spirits they may insult vpon our neckes, men of insolent mindes, by nature iniurious to all other men and by fortune superiour. If a man

Silo Popedius his oration to the Marsians.

Romulus
& Remus
bastards.

Nourished
by a wolfe.

» should examine from the beginning, and as
 » they say from the roote, the degrees of their
 » estate, what iustice shall he find? nay what in-
 » iustice shall he not find? The two twinnes who
 » were the founders of their city, were bastards,
 » begotten by the rape of a holy virgin, and by
 » destinie were cast forth as of no regard, vn-
 » till a she-wolfe feeling perhaps some saueur
 » of her owne nature in them, did with her dugs
 » nourish them. After, when from milke they
 » were growne to meate, they were fedde by a
 » chough, and when they had attained to mans
 » estate, nothing would please then but a king-
 » dome, & a regall citie, the foundation wherof
 » was solemnized by an augurie deriued from
 » the flight of Eagles. Thus a most rauencous
 » bird did ominate vnto them a monarchy, thus
 » a most greedie beast whose hungry teeth, and
 » ynsatiable appetite no pray could content,
 » did giue them milke, thus a most thecuissh and
 » busie brained birde was their foster-father.
 » These were the portents and signes of their
 » Citie, that it should be a daughter verie like
 » to the parents: these did prognosticate vnto
 » vs the spoiles, rapines, inuasions and violent
 incroach-

incroachments that should afterward be made »
 by the Romanes. And for that cause Romulus »
 wold not make or appoint limits and bounds »
 for his kingdome, that he might by force en- »
 ter into euery soile as his own. But what wold »
 not Romulus do, which had the heart to shed »
 the bloud of his owne and onely brother? »
 And thus was their citie consecrated by bloud: »
 but some of the Romanes do with impuden- »
 cie denie this fact, some with modestie do »
 doubt of it, some with griefe do conceale it, »
 and they which by cleare prooue are enforced »
 to confesse it, do with this imagination molli- »
 fie the fault, that it was done by the consent »
 but not by the hand of Romulus. But whether »
 he commaunded it, or committed it, he was »
 a murtherer. After this hainous crime ensued »
 the rape of the Sabine virgins, the rauishment »
 of whom they excuse, because they would not »
 yeeld their franke consent to mariage: surely »
 they cannot iustly be reprovied, if they, being »
 a noble people, did denie mariage to such a »
 base assemblie of shepheards, heardsmen and »
 hoggards, newly crept out of the straw: for in »
 that great assemblie of newe vpstartes there »

Remus is
slaine by
Romulus.

The rape
of the Sa-
bine vir-
gins.

» were but an hundred men, who were lawfully
 » begotten, and these forsooth were at the first
 » made Senators. But nothing doth more be-
 » wray the vnjust dealing and lacke of consci-
 » ence in the Romanes, then the lamentable e-
 » state of the Saguntines, who had bin alwayes
 » verie constant in fellowship and friendship
 » toward them, and whilest they did keep their
 » faith to them, they lost their Citie. Saguntus
 » was fiercely besieged by Hanniball, which
 » when the Romanes heard, they sent presently
 » Embassadours to Hannibal to dehort him frō
 » the siege, but being despised they went to
 » Carthage, and there framed a complaint a-
 » gainst Hannibal, pretending that he had bro-
 » ken the league, but failing of their purpose,
 » they returned to Rome. Amids these delaies,
 » that poore citie within eight or nine moneths
 » after the laying of siege was destroied of the
 » Carthaginians, when the inhabitāts were be-
 » fore consumed with famine, and one of them
 » did eate anothers carkasse, and being wearie
 » of the world, because they should not come
 » as captiues into the enemies power, they
 » made a common fire, into which, when one of
 them

The Ro-
 mane em-
 bassadors
 are despi-
 sed of Hā-
 nibal.

The mis-
 erable fa-
 min of the
 Saguntines.

them had slaine another with the sword, they »
 were throwne. How manifest and manifold is »
 the abuse which they offred to the Carthagi- »
 nians? They did incite Masinissa the neigh- »
 bour of the Carthaginians to quarrell with »
 them, who prætended that the Carthaginiāns »
 ought to haue no more land then Dido the »
 Tyrian queene did enioy, which was as much »
 as could be measured by the hide of an Oxe »
 being cut into thongs. But could their prescri- »
 ption & possession during the space of seauen, »
 hundred yeares be so easily dissipated? by the »
 same reason the Romanes should content thē »
 selues with the cottages and cabbins, which »
 first they inhabited. But the Carthaginians »
 being greatly vexed by Masinissa and the Ro- »
 manes assisting him, did fall prostrate at the »
 feete of the Romanes, and did grievously cō- »
 plaine of the intollerable couetousnesse and »
 pride of Masinissa, and requested with teares, »
 that of three things they might obtaine one: »
 namely, that either they might equally de- »
 bate the whole cause and controuersie before »
 the regents of some common-weale leagued »
 in societie with them both, and indifferently »

Masinissa
 quarelleth
 with the
 Carthagi-
 nians.

Scipio sent
as vmpire
betwixt
Masinissa
& the Car-
thaginians.

» affected toward them, or that they would
» suffer them to defend theſelues by iuſt warre
» againſt the vniuſt armes of Maſiniſſa, or laſtly,
» if fauour did more preuaile with them then
» truth, that they would once determine and
» certainly ſet downe, what and how much they
» ſhould yeeld to Maſiniſſa. But the Romanes
» did not one whit helpe theſe afflicted perſons,
» and that good Affricanus, whom they ſo
» much commended, being ſent as an indi-
» ferent vmpire betwixt them and their ene-
» mie, did make their diſcord a great deale
» more: and the deſolate Carthaginians, when
» they were enforced to provide for theſelues,
» were accused at Rome for the breach of
» league, and hereupon they were declared to
» be enemies. They had ſtraite commandemēt
» from the Romans to reſtore the Romane ho-
» ſtages, to deliuer their money and treasure
» into the hands of the Romanes, and by that
» meane to purchaſe the ſafetie of their Citie:
» all this was done. VVell this was not enough:
» the Romanes muſt haue their ſhips, their mu-
» nition and weapons: they deliuered theſe
» likewise: yet this ſufficed not: the Romanes
muſt

muſt haue their Citie, and the Carthaginians,
muſt build ſome other Citie farre from this:
this was graunted vnto them, and Carthage,
the faireſt Citie of all Affricke was by them,
preſently burnt, and turned euen with the
ground. Here when the Romanes were preſ-
ſed and vrged with their promiſe, their answer
was, that in ſpeaking of the ſafetie of the Ci-
tie, they did meane the ſafetie of the citizens,
and inhabitants, not of the Citie which did
conſiſt of ſtone and timber: O ſnares! ô im-
poſtures! ô ſophiſtrie! can the Romans with-
out bluſhing obiect perfidiouſneſſe and tre-
cherie to the Carthaginians? Surely as they
dealt with them being leagued in ancient ſo-
cietie with them, ſo I am afraid they wil deale
with vs. And I do the rather ſuſpect it, becauſe
I ſee they will ſtil haue a difference betweene
them ſelues and vs. Herein lieth a myſterie,
I will not ſay of the Punicke fraude, but of the
Romane arte. And when it pleaſeth them to
drawe the curtaine, we ſhall be made their
ſlaues, and our goods their dearling. VVher-
fore I requeſt you all with all the vehemencie,
and force of my minde, that you would with,

The Citie
of Cartha-
ge burnt.

» one heart contend for the recouerie & de-
 » fence of liberty, and that you would at length
 » aime at such a common-weale, wherein right
 » and law, not the priuate will of powerful men
 » may beare sway. To the which purpose I know
 » all the other people of Italie ioyned in league
 » and fellowship with vs, will affoord the dili-
 » gent assistance of their persons, and the best
 » wealth of their treasuries. As for me, such hath
 » my birth, such hath my education bene, that I
 » preferre the dignitie of my countrey, and the
 » libertie of this common-weale before all
 » things in the world. VVhich if you do so desi-
 » rously embrace, I am fully resolved to lay my
 » life open to all dangers, without anie regard
 » of estate or priuate respect: if not, I will lay
 » downe weapons, and leaue the estate of the
 » common-wealth as it now standeth, to your
 » owne discretion.

The Marsians hearing the name of liberty,
 did greedily receiue it, and therefore applau-
 ding to Popedius, as informing them of that
 which was most for their vse, because there
 appeared in his speech no signes of coue-
 tousnesse or ambition, but an earnest and ve-
 hement

hement desire of publique good, did resolute
 to follow him as their generall.

They had no sooner set vp flagge of defi-
 ance against the Romanes, but there resorted
 vnto them a huge multitude of all the prouin-
 ces of Italie: so readie are disloyall persons to
 cast off the yoke of obedience, or common
 societie, when they haue gotten a head. The
 metamorphosis truly was verie great, to see
 the Citie of Rome enuironed on all sides by
 foes, which before was garded by friends, &
 there was none almost left to defend the City
 but the citizens, and nothing to defend the
 citizens but the Citie. The people that reuol-
 ted were the Marsians, the Samnites, the Vm-
 brians, the Vestini, the Irpini, the Lucani, the
 Marrusini, the Asculani, the Peligni, the Pifa-
 ni: and they were led by great Captaines, men
 of valour and seruice, hauing as great desire
 to fight with the Romanes, as the Romanes
 had to rule ouer them. The most of them were
 of so choise courage and conduction, that the
 Romanes had before in many warres relyed
 vpon their seruice. But yet the name of a Ro-
 mane was such a scepter to their spirits, that

they were still kept in awe and order without anie thought of reuolting. These men were now quite altered, as if they had lately bene at some mart of soules, and had exchaunged their mindeſ with ſome men by nature enraged againſt the Romanes: and it is greatly to be wondred how the mightie power of the diuine Maieſtie, doth ſway the moments of things, and ſorteth them in peremptorie manner to ſtraunge and vnlooked for effects, making reaſon blind, pollicie aſtoniſhed, ſtrêngth feeble, and valour daſtardly, turning loue into hatred, feare into furie, boldneſſe into trembling, and in the circuite of one minute making the conquered perſon a conqueror. The Romanes did not in anie warre ſhewe more wiſedome and courage, which two things are in common vnderſtanding repugnant, becauſe wiſedome for the moſt part procureth feare in dangerous accidents, which is oppoſite to courage, and courage cauſeth raſhneſſe which is contrarie to wiſedome. But ſo were their fortunes croſſed, & the lot of warre was ſo variable, that this warre was reſolutely vnder-
taken of them, vnſhappily continued, and victo-

victoriously concluded. The Romane armie had two Generals: namely P. Rutilius one of the Conſuls, whoſe Lieutenants were Cn. Pōpeius Strabo, Q. Cæpio, C. Perperna, C. Marius, Valerius Meſſalla: and L. Cæſar the other Conſul, who had theſe Lieutenants, P. Lentulus, T. Didius, P. Licinius Craſſus, L. Cornelius Sylla, M. Marcellus, all famous Captains, men of excellent deſert and heroicall qualities, and the moſt of them fit not onely to manage a warre, but a kingdom, yea an Empire: yet of all theſe none did obtaine the victorie during the firſt yeare of their fight, C. Marius and L. Cæſar onely excepted, yet Cæſar was not long before with his whole armie diſcomfited, and Marius did with great difficultie atchieue one victorie, which was the beginning of a greater warre. The Conſuls did thus diſpoſe the encounters of them ſelues and their Lieutenants, L. Cæſar was oppoſed to Vertius Cato, who led a wing of the Marſian armie, but Cæſar being ouer mated by a man of greater wiſedome and magnanimitie, was enforced to flie; and after the ſlaughter of two thouſand of his men, being hotely purſued &

C. Perperna
discharged
of his Lieutenancie.

Q. Cæpio
slaine.

P. Rutilius
slaine.

C. Marius
putteth Vetti-
us Cato to
flight.

enchafed of the enemy, was constrained (for necessity will afford no choice) to take Æfemia for his refuge. C. Perperna did encounter P. Præsentius, who put him likewise to flight, & deusted him of his armie, for which cause he was discharged of his Lieutenancie, and now was C. Marius fought vnto by the Consuls, to whom he yeelded such assistance, that he rather seemed to be their protectour then their champion. P. Rutilius to reuenge the death of Q. Cæpio, who was slaine by the ambush of Popedius, and the quarrell of his fellow Consul, vpon the Marsians, did assay them by battell, but lost a great number of men, & in the end lost himselfe, being slaughtered in the midst of his enemies. C. Marius with a fresh courage renewed the fight, & put to flight with extreme labor Vettius Cato the fatall enemy to both the Consuls. But the messenger who brought the newes of this victorie of Marius to the Romane campe, did meete there another messenger, who reported vnto them, that Egualius one of the enemies campe had surprised Venafrum a towne of great strength: that M. Lamponius another

of

of their enemies had slaine eight hundred of the armie of P. Licinnius Crassus, and had put the residue to flight, that C. Papius Mutilus their enemy, had brought Nola a flourishing Colonie of the Romanes into his power, together with Q. Posthumius their Prætor, that he had also taken Stauia, Minturna and Salernum, and did now besiege Acerra a chiefe towne. These newes succeeding the other did make the Romanes to heare with ioy, and to remember with sorow. But no better fortune did ensue: for M. Marcellus being assigned for the defence of Æfemia was taken prisoner by the Samnites, who surprised that Colonie. Cn. Pompeius was by three Captaines of the aduerser part, Iudacilius, Æfranius, and Venti- dius fiercely encountering, driuen to the village of Firmo, and there besieged. L. Cæsar had a prosperous victorie against the Samnites, but C. Marius fighting against the Marsians with doubtfull event, did recompence the death of euery enemy with the losse of his owne souldiers: so constant is the fortune of warre in inconstancie. Now was come the second yeare of this dangerous warre, which

C. Marius
fought equal-
ly against the
Marsians.

continued old broiles, and made new Consuls. Cn. Pompeius Strabo, L. Portius Cato, both which were by the decree of the Senate enioyned to take vpon them the charge of this warre. They brought some new Lieutenants in the place of some that were dead, and some that were discharged. The succeeding Lieutenants were A. Albinus, Cosconius, Lucceius, A. Gabinius, Sulpitius, L. Muræna, Cæcilius Pius, Mamercus Æmilius. It seemeth that Rome in these dayes was a verie schoole of warfare, which did yeeld the supply of such excellent Captaines, after the departure of Captaines not much more excellent. C. Marius vpon a disliking conceiued by the Consul Portius (priuate humor is alwayes an enemy to publike good) was discharged of his place. But so it happened, that the Romanes changed their fortune with their Consuls, but the Italians were more daunted and disanimated by the continuance of the warre, then encouraged by the increase of their victories. For a base spirit cannot ioy in any honorable matter, & nothing more deuoureth the heart of a rebellious or trecherous person, then the inward

C. Marius disliked by the Consul Portius,

inward fire of a glowing conscience. L. Sylla had a notable victorie against the Samnites, and did ransacke their tents. Cn. Pompeius did constrain the Vestini, the Peliani, and the Æsculani, and the Pisani to yeeld vnto him. Sylla did kil Cluentius a Captaine of the contrary part at Nola; and he brought vnder his power the Irpini. A. Gabinius did fight prosperously against the Lucani, and tooke many of their great townes, but when he wold haue spoiled their tents, he was slaine. Sulpitius hauing slaine all the souldiers of the Marrucini, did reduce that whole region into the subiection of the Romanes. L. Muræna and Cæcilius Pius had manie encounters against the Marsians, and in the ende enforced them to yeeld, but Popedius their Captaine the author of this warre was slaine in fight, in which war Portius Cato was also slaine, not through his owne default, nor by the valor of his enemies; but through the malicious stomacke of the sonne of C. Marius, who in reuenge of his fathers quarell, did throw his dart at him, and with a deadly wound did make him fall prostrate to the ground: but because he could

Sylla's victorie against the Samnites.

Cn. Pomp. Strabo his victories.

Sylla killeth Cluentius.

A. Gabinius after a prosperous fight is slaine.

Sulpitius bringeth the Marrucini to obedience.

Popedius is slaine.

Portius Cato slaine.

Cm. Pompeius
Strabo tri-
umphed.

not be discerned in such confusion of fight, & in the heate of the battell, he was not impeached for this trecherous murder. The Romans hauing enioyed and accomplished all things according to their desire, returned with the great ioy and gratulation of their fellow citizens. On Pompeius, for his ample victories & great desert was rewarded with a triumph. Thus was the Italian warre being left to the Romanes as the legacie of Drusus ended and appeased, which wrought two notable effects: for it brought the Italians from societie to seruitude, and refusing the bridle they receiued the yoke, and were euer after kept vnder the chaine of perpetuall commaund, but the Romanes it made glorious and inuincible: for their iust warres had alwayes good successe, and their vnjust warres or inuasions, could not (as may partly appeare by this Italia vprore) by forraigne warre be reuenged. But for the cause hereof let no man make search or inquirie, sith it is no where to be found saue only in God his decretall booke, the contents whereof as I cannot know, so the comments of man in this matter I may not beleue. This
thing

thing therefore as vailed with vtmost darkenesse, I do with all humblenesse leaue to him who hath reserued it to himselfe: & this onely I obserue, which euerie man may note in the sequele of this historie, that the Romans were punished by the Romanes for their wrongs & iniuries (if I may vse coniecture in so thicke a mist) done to their neighbours and others. Not long after the death of Drusus the Consulship inuested vpon Q. Pompeius & L. Cornelius Sylla, who before his victory could not be too highly commended, and after neuer sufficiently dispraised: so contrarie and opposite he was to him selfe, being more mercifull in the combat, then after the conquest, and Sylla fighting in the field was not so cruell as Sylla triumphing in the towne. He was nobly descended, being the sixth man from Cornelius Rufinus, who was one of the chiefe Captaines in the warre against Pyrrhus. For the glorie and credite of that familie had bene long intermitted, and was almost perished, till it was raised and rampired vp by Sylla to the ancient grace, and restored with an ouerplus to the former dignitie. Sylla did a long

Sylla is made
Consul.

Sylla his co-
trary nature
His descent.

time behaue him selfe ſo modestly and contentedly, that he ſeemed to be without all intent for ſeing for the Conſulſhip, but after his Prætorſhip being much renowned by the Italian warre, & for his great exploits in France, hauing ſlaine the ſtoutest Captains of the aduerſe part, he tooke ſtomacke by reaſon of his good ſucceſſe, and making ſure for the Conſulſhip, was made Conſull, nor one citizen almoſt withdrawing his conſent, and that honour he purchaſed when he was eighty and fortie yeares olde. At that time Mithridates king of Pontus, a ſharpe and victorious ſouldier, being ſometime great in proſperitie, and at all times great in courage, in counſell wiſe, in ſtrength mightie, in hatred againſt the Romanes another Hannibal, had taken and poſſeſt Aſia, where he put to death all the Romanes that did there inhabite: the region of Aſia did by lot happẽ to Sylla as his province, he addreſſing him ſelfe thitherward with as great ſpeed as he could poſſibly make, came at length to Nola, which he beſieged, for that Citie did moſt ſtubburnly reſiſt the Romans, reuolting from that faithfulneſſe which the Nolaues

Mithridates,
an enemy to
the Romanes.

Sylla beſie-
geth Nola.

Nolaues did religiously obſerue and exhibite to the Romanes in the Carthaginian warres: but not long after the laying of this ſiege, he was abridged of his Generallſhip by Sulpitius a Tribune, who being in wealth, fauor, friendſhip, wit, and courage great amongſt the Romanes, hauing before ſought dignitie by deſert, did now by his leud decrees and diſloyall practiſes deſerue to looſe his dignitie. He aſſigned to C. Marius an imperiall præheminence, & the regimēt of all the provinces that belonged to the citie of Rome, which honors as Marius did ambitiouſly deſire, ſo Sulpitius did iniuriouſly diſpoſe: and therewithall he enacted that Sylla ſhould be called from Aſia, and Marius ſhould be Generall in his place; manie other pernitiouſ lawes he eſtabliſhed, both intollerable and deteſtable: for concluſion, he ended in murder, procuring by his bloud-thirſty ſeruants the death of one of the Pompeys, ſonne to Q. Pompeius, and Syllaes ſonne in lawe. Sylla hearing of this ſodaine change, and being ſolicited by the letters of his deareſt friends, made ſpeedie returne to the Citie, which hauing taken by force of

Sulpitius a
ſeditious Tri-
bune al-
reſt the ſtate

The ambitio
of Marius,

Murder com-
mitted by
Sulpitius.

Syllaes re-
venge vpon
the seditious

armes he droue out of it the twelue authours
of this newe and damnable faction, amongst
whom was C. Marius and his sonne, together
with P. Sulpitius the first beginner of discord,
Sulpitius being taken by Syllaes horsemen in
the Laurentine fennes was there beheaded, &
for the guerdon of his cruelty, his head being
afterward conueyed to Rome, was erected
vpon a pinnacle over the barre of the Senate
house. C. Marius (a cleare mirrour of this
worlds vnconstancie) to whom if you will
place him amongst the fortunate, you must as-
signe the highest seate, if amongst the vnfortu-
nate, the lowest, hauing before enioyed all
pleasures which prosperitie could yeeld, and
now suffering all troubles which aduersitie
could bring) after his sixth consulship, and the
sixtieth yeare of his age, for the auoyding of
Syllaes horsemen, stripped himselfe naked, &
flying to a marrish of reedes did there hide
himselfe, plunging so deeply into the mud,
that nothing could be seene of him but his
eyes and nostrels, who being afterward de-
scribed, was drawne by a thong of leather tied
to his neck, into the prison of Minturna. There

The extreme
miserie of
C. Marius.

was

was sent to kil him a captiue slaue, whom Ma-
rius had taken prisoner in the battel which he
fought against the Cimbrians: this bloudie
Cimbrian aslaying to strike Marius, was so
daintly amazed, and terrified by the maiestie
of his countenance, though Marius was then
full of yeares, full of miserie, and void of wea-
pons: but the slaue seeing so bright a starre in
so darke a dungeon, reuerencing the man
whom he had before feared, and perswading
himselfe that it was impossible for one man to
worke his death, who not long before had al-
most destroyed the whole nation of the Cim-
brians, lest him aliue, and in trembling maner
departed from his presence. The Minturnians
because they held the worthinesse of Marius
in high reputation, deliuered him out of pri-
son, and attiring him with conuenient appa-
rell, bestowing vpon him a pilgrims viande,
which might for a season relieue his hunger,
dismissed him out of their Citie. He hauing o-
uertaken his sonne at Æmaria, directed his
voyage vnto Affricke, where he led a poore
and wretched life in the ruines and desolate
rēnants of the Citie of Carthage. Sylla leuied

A captiue
slaue sent to
kill Marius.

The Mintur-
nians friends
to Marius.

Q Pompe-
ius slain.

Cinna be-
ginmeth a
new broyle.

Cinna is ex-
pulsed the
City.

Cinna is
made Cap-
taine of a se-
ditionary
army.

an armie & renewed his iourney toward Asia,
(the yeare wherein Sylla was Consull, was the
first yeare in which the Romane souldiers did
slay their Consull; for then Q. Pompeius be-
ing fellow Consull with Sylla, was slaine by
the seditious armie of Cn. Pompeius Procon-
sull.) After the broiles of Marius and Sulpi-
tius the tumults of Cinna succeeded, who was
not one iote more temperate then those dis-
orderly and enormous quarellers, or rather
furious and traiterous conspirers. He was Co-
sull with Cn. Octavius, who because one of
them namely Cinna, fauoured Marius, and
the other Sylla, fell to a sodaine iarre, & main-
taining feuerall armies in the Citie, caused
much terror, and some bloodshed. Cinna was
expulsed the Citie by the power of Octavius
and the Senators, his Consulship was abroga-
ted, and in his place L. Cornelius Merula, Iu-
piters priest was elected. Cinna hauing cor-
rupted the Centurions, Tribunes & souldiers
with hope of liberalitie, was admitted of that
armie (which was as yet about Nola) for their
Captaine, and hauing sworne all his souldiers
to obcissance and loyaltie, he marched in his
Consul-

Consul robes toward Rome, his armie consi-
sting of three hundred bands of good souldiers
amounting in the view of spials to the number
of thirtie legions: but though he had manie
souldiers and much courage, he lacked not-
withstanding factioners and fauourites to vp-
hold him, and was destitute of popular credit,
which might bolster and support his doings.
For supplying of which want, he called from
banishment C. Marius and his sonne, with all
the other Romanes which were before by
Syllaes horsemen chased out of the Citie.
Vvhilest Cinna was thus preparing warre a-
gainst his mother towne, Cn. Pompeius father
to that great state, of whom we shall hereafter
speake, whose worthie actes in the Marssian
warre, together with his victorie at Asculum,
was verie beneficiall and commodious to the
common-weale, being frustrate of hope to
continue the Proconsulship, shewed him selfe
verie indifferent and equall to the factions,
doing all things for his proper and priuate
good, and lying in waite for oportunitie to
serue his owne turne and aduancement, encli-
ning his armie this way and that way, now as a

Cinna cal-
leth C. Ma-
rius and his
sonne from
banishment.

Cn. Pom-
peius father
to Pompey
the great his
dissembling
and vncon-
stancy.

A great fight
betwix
Cinna and
Cn. Pōpeius

faulcer to Cinna, & now as a friend to Sylla, following fortune by coniectures, and determining to ioyne with him, who by all likelihood should be most puissant: at length he encountred with Cinna before the citie wals, where after a maine sea of bloudshed, the Romans that were vpon the walles, beholding the slaughter of their brethren, friends and kinsfolke vnder the wals, the battell was fully finished, but the victorie was doubtfull. Not long after Cn. Pōpeius died, by whose death the souldiers of Cinna conceiued so great ioy and glad somnesse, that they forgot the finall ouerthrow of their fellow souldiers, and the Romans did bestow their reuenge vpon Pompey being dead, which they did owe to him being aliue. Cinna and Marius did not without great haucke of men and matrons inuade the citie: but Cinna entred first, and published a lawe touching the receiuing of Marius, then C. Marius entred the wals with a most fatall and dangerous returne to the citie of Rome. Nothing had bene more bloudie then his entrance, if his death had not shortly ensued: for hauing possessed the citie, he

Cinna en-
tred the city

C. Marius
recalled fro
banishment,
entred the
citie.

he was more vnsatiate in his crueltie then any rauenous tiger, and more mercilesse in his tragicall punishments, then any furie, breathing nothing but bloud, and delighting in nothing but murder, neither did the licentious rage of his wrath content it selfe with the bloud of meaner men, but it seised vpon the states and starres of the citie. Then did Octavius one of the Consuls, a man of a mild & douelike humor, render vp his life into the pawes of these wolues: and Merula, who a little before the returne of Cinna had through feare renounced the Consulship, cut in peeces his owne veines, and sprinkling his lukewarme bloud vpon the altar, vpon which he had often sacrificed the bloud of beasts, and intreating the gods for the execratiō of Cinna, to whom he had often prayed for the preservation of the citie, gaue vp his fainting ghost in a great agonie of mind. M. Antonius the chiefe of the citie, and the Phænix of eloquence, was slain at the commaundement of Marius and Cinna, by the swords of their souldiers, whome by the sweetnesse of his eloquence he did a longtime retrain and delay from the killing.

Octavius
put to death
by the cruel-
tie of Marius

Merula cut-
teth in pee-
ces his owne
veines.

M Antonius
the Oratour
put to death
by Marius &
Cinna.

Q. Caenlus
cause of his
owne death.

of him. Q. Catulus a man famous for his vertues and valour in the Gimbrian warre, the glorie of which he did participate with Marius, as we haue aboue reported, when he was hunted to death by these greedie bloudhounds, shut himself into a narrow closet that was newly pargited with lime, and hauing there a fire of burning coales, which might raise vp a sudden dampe, stopping his breath with a vaporious and dankish smoke, departed this world, rather according to his owne will then his enemies will: then were the streetes, channels, theaters, market places, and temples strewed and ouerspread with carcasses, so that it could hardly be iudged, whether these two tyrants did slay more that they might obtaine the victorie, or more were put to the sword that they might safely enjoy the victorie. For euerie one to whome Marius would not reach out his hand by way of salutation, was immediatly slaine. The common weale was now in a tottering and ruinous estate: couetousnesse was the cause of crueltie, and the more wealthie a man was, the more faultie he was iudged: the accuser of a rich man had his

pay

pay and reward out of the coffers of him that was accused: and then, was profite and honestie confounded and made one. Afterward Cinna and Marius were Consuls, Cinna was now the second time Consul, Marius the sequenth time, who in that consulship died, a Roman in war terrible to his enemies, in peace to his friends, and at all times impatient of quietnesse: in his place was chosen Valerius Flaccus. Cinna being now the sole regent of Italie, the greatest part of the Nobilitie fled to Sylla into Achaia, who in the meane time did so fight with Mithridates his Lieutenants and Coronels about Athens, Macedonia, and Beotia, that he tooke Athens, and made great hauocke of his enemies. But if any impute the rebellion of these times vnto the citie of Athens, he is altogether ignorant of the truth. For the faith of the Athenians was alwaies so firme and inuiolate towards the Romanes, that euery action which was performed without blemish or stain of promise, was said to be done by an Athenian faith: but they being heauily oppressed by the vn sufferable y^elge of Mithridates his host, were besieged of their

C. Marius
dieth.

The Atheni-
ans faithfull
to the Ro-
manes.

K 2

Sylla his hard
conditions
of peace co-
cluded with
Mithridates.

The king of
Parthia sen-
deth Ambas-
sadours to
Sylla.

friends, when they were held captiue of their enemies, and obaying necessitie stayed their bodies within the wals, though their minds were without, and entirely with the Romans. Sylla did then conduct his armie into Asia, where he found Mithridates very tractable & suppliant vnto him whome he punished with the paiement of a great summe of mony, and with the losse of part of his nauie, enioyning him to depart out of Asia, and out of all the prouinces which he had vniustly inuaded, and constraining him to content himselfe with the inheritance descended from his father, which was the kingdome of Pontus: he tooke from Mithridates the Romane prisoners without ransome, and vsed great seueritie against the traiterous reuolts, and runagates. Sylla hauing thus appeased and qualified forraine affaires, went by sea toward Rome, and in the way met him certaine ambassadours from the Parthian king, which were sent to gratulate his victorie, he being the first of the Romanes to whome the king of Parthia sent ambassadours. There was nothing more worthie among Syllas labours, then that whole three

yeares

yeares space, whilst the factioners of Cinna & Marius did besiege the townes of Italie, he neither pretended any fauour toward them, neither did he omit that which he had in hand, namely the subduing and vanquishing of forraine enemies: for he knew when external tumults were ended, he might with more ease extinguish domesticall enemies. Before the comming of Sylla, Cinna in a mutinie of his owne souldiers was slaine, a captaine more worthie to be adiudged to death by the discretion of the conquerour, then to loose his life through the furie of his souldiers, of whom it may truly be said, that he aduentured those things which no vertuous man wold attempt, & that he brought those things to passe, which none but a valiant souldier could accomplish. His fellow Cōsul Carbo hauing no colleague did now prædominate and beare sway. Sylla hauing entred Italie, it was thought he came not as a reuenger of warre, but as an authour of peace, with such quietnesse and mildnesse he lead his armie through Calabria and Apulia, with a great & speciall regard of the growing corne, of meddowes, of men, of castles,

Cinna is
slaine.

Sylla passeth
quietly thro-
ugh Italie.

and cities, and indeed he assayed by lawfull articles, and equall conditions, to appease the discord, but peace could not please them which were immoderately couetous. Silla's army did daily increase, euery good and discrete Italian making recourse vnto him, and he had a most happy victory about Capua against Scipio and Norbanus Consuls, Norbanus being ouercome by fight, Scipio being forsaken of his army, yet Sylla gaue him leaue to depart, without hurt or hindrance, so vnlike was he to himselfe in his warres, and after his victory, for whilst the victorie was fresh, he was more mild then equitie required, but when peace had taken roote, he was more cruell then any barbarous Scythian, for Q. Sertorius the fury and firebrand of that rebellious warre, which not long after ensued, being disarmed by Sylla, was sent away in safety, and many others he did with the same clemency intreate: of purpose, as I thinke, that he might giue an example of a double and diuerse mind in one man, and by that meane shroud and couer the contents of his heart. At that time to fill vp the measure of

Sylla dismis-
seth Sertor-
ius without
hurt.

of publike mishap, in the city of Rome, where before men did emulate one another in ver-
tuous actions, now they did combate and contend in malicious practises, & he thought himselfe the best man, that was most wicked and iniurious. Sylla had three mighty aduersaries, Carbo, and C. Marius, the sonne of Marius that was the seauenth time Consull, which both were Consuls whilst Sylla rang an allarme at the gates of Preneste, and Pontius Telesinus, who leuying an army of the Samnites, did stoutly confront Sylla before the walles of Preneste, he was an Italian borne, but was not free of the city of Rome, a valiant souldier and a great enemy to a Roman name, who stood in defence of Preneste, but not with the Consuls. This Telesinus conducting forty thousand fighting men ioyned battell with Sylla at Collina, and brought both him and the commo-weale to extreame danger: for Rome was not in greater feare, when the tents of Hanniball were but three miles distant from her walles. Telesinus did greatly encourage his souldiers, saying that the day of their battell was the last period of,

Sylla fighteth
with Telesi-
mus a Sam-
nite.

« the Romane glorie, and he cried that Rome,
 « Rome must be throwne downe, and razed fro
 « the foundations, adding therewithall that
 « there wold neuer be wanting inuadors of the
 « Italian liberties, as long as the wood stooode
 « where such wolues were harboured. At the
 first houre of the night the Romane armie re-
 uiued their courage, Telsinus the next day
 after was found halfe dead, bearing the coun-
 tenance rather of a conqueror then of a man
 subdued, whose head being cut off Sylla com-
 maunded to be caried along the streetes of
 Preneste. C. Marius, his life being in a despe-
 rate case, was faine to creepe through certaine
 holes of the earth to escape his enemies, but
 he was slaine of Syllaes souldiers that were
 appointed for that purpose, of which toward-
 ly gentleman, what opinion Sylla caried, a
 man may easily coniecture: for when he was
 slaine he intituled himselfe Sylla the fortunate,
 which had indeed bene true if he had ended
 his life with his victories. For hauing entred
 the citie and vsurped the Dictatorship, which
 had bene an hundred and twentie yeares in-
 termitted, (for the last Dictator before Sylla
 was

C. Marius
 the younger
 is slaine by
 Syllaes sould-
 iers.

Sylla vsur-
 peth the Di-
 ctatorship.

was made the first yeare after Hannibals de-
 parture out of Italie, so that it was apparant,
 that the Romanes did not so much desire the
 vse of a Dictator, as they did feare his tyran-
 nie) he began presently to broach the bloud
 of citizens, hauing already drawne to the
 bottome the bloud of straungers: foure legi-
 ons of souldiers, who had bene of the contra-
 rie faction, and had now vpon couenant of
 life submitted themselues to his mercie, cal-
 ling in vaine vpon the faith of a Romaine sol-
 dier, he caused to be slaine: foue thousand of
 that armie which fought against him at Pre-
 neste, being promised life by P. Cethegus his
 Lieutenant, he put to a sudden and vnlooked
 for death, and caused their ioynts to be pluc-
 ked in peeces, and commaunded that they
 should be disperfed and cast abroad in the
 wastes and mores. After these great and ex-
 treme cruelties, he put in practise the heauie
 penaltie of proscription, which if it had died
 with Sylla, would haue beneene a great part of
 the Romane happinesse: by that meanes he
 brought to passe, that whose names soeuer he
 writ in the table of proscription, should be

Sylla causeth
 the souldiers
 of Preneste
 to be slaine.

M. M.
 M. M.

Proscription
 put in pra-
 ctise by Sylla

vpon their attachemēt presently put to death, their goods also were subiect to sale, euery one taking the benefit to whome Sylla would graunt it: neither was he content to rage against them onely which had before opposed themselues to him, but the most quiet and innocent citzens for the greatnesse of their wealth he depriued also of life, and against filly women did he bend his wrath, as not satisfied with the death of men: and, which was a signe of a Thracian crueltie, as soone as the heads of the slaine citzens were parted from their trembling corpes, breathing as yet, their faces being not wholly depriued of a vitall bloud, he did gaze vpon them, andASSE the in his hands that he might feed on them with his eyes, though he could not crush them with his teeth. VVith what sauagenesse did he behaue himselfe in the killing of M. Marius, whose eyes were pluckt out before his death, and euery part of his bodie was sundred and disloynted: and at that instant he enforced his sword through the bowels of M. Pletorius, because he seemed to be grieved with the torture of M. Marius. O extreme punisher of pit-

M. Marius
slain by Sylla.

Sylla his
rage against
M. Pletorius.

tic

tie and compassion, to whome it seemed a crime not to consent to crueltie. Neither did he spare the dead, for the ashes of C. Marius, the elder, he caused to be raked out of the graue and throwne into a riuer. Sylla whilest he sought the victorie, was to the Romanes a Scipio, whilst he vsed it a very Mithridates. Many other bloudsheds he did commit, and more would he haue committed, had not the terrour of a guiltie conscience followed him, with the blazing brand of his vexed soule, which torment some call an ecstasie, some melancholie, some madnesse, but I denying it to be any one of these, allow it to be all these, doubtlesse it is a thing sooner felt thē known, not to be auoided by medicine but by true felicitie. In this perplexitie he died, and yet ceased not the ciuill or rather vnciuil and vnbrotherly discord: thus was Rome the famous citie of Europe, the mother and nurce of worthie Senators, the miracle of nations, the epitomie of the world, the kingdome of Mars, and the seauenheaded soueraigne of many prouinces exceedingly shaken with these quarrels, stained with these bloudsheds, and

The ashes of
C. Marius
thrown into
a riuer by
Sylla.

Sylla dyeth.

griuously discomforted with the death of her children, her babes were brought forth for the sword to glut vpon, the bodies of her ancients were made as pauements to walk vpon, her matrons became a pray and prize to euery rauisher, her priests and deuoute sacrificers were slaine before the gates of the temples. Syllaes bodie was conueied in sumptuous mannerto Campus Martius, in which place before the buriall the two Consuls, namely M. Emilius Lepidus, and Q. Luctatius Catulus did earnestly debate about the repealing and cancelling of the acts and decrees of Sylla. Lepidus vrged that they who were proscribed by Sylla, ought incontinent to be reduced to the citie, and there to haue restitution of their goods. Catulus together with the Senate defended the contrarie, saying that though his motion were good and honest, yet it might be the beginning of some tumult, which would be most dangerous if it were suddenly done, because the common-weale was but newly recomforted, and had as yet enioyed but a short pause of tranquillitie. By this dissention they fell to weapons, Cn. Pompeius

Debate betwix Lepidus and Catulus Consuls touching the decrees of Sylla.

peius and Q. Catulus hauing gathered an armie did proffer battell to Lepidus, and in a light skirmish ouercame him. Not long before the death of Sylla, Q. Sertorius rising in armes maintained warre in Spaine: for when he saw that the faction of Marius which he specially fauoured, was vtterly defeated and dissipated by L. Sylla, he fled presently into Spaine, where before he had bene Pretor, & there hauing gathered a great host and contriued an huge nauie, fearing lest Sylla, who had put Carbo to flight and slaine Marius, should send an armie against him, he caused Liuius Salinator his Lieutenant to encampe in the mountaines of Pyraeneum, but he was afterward slaine by C. Anius the Romane Proconsul, who was sent thither to abate the courage of Sertorius, and after him Q. Metellus was also sent, but their proceedings were not prosperous. VWherefore Cn. Pompeius being as yet a priuate man, had charge giuen him of the Senate to go into Spaine. There came at that time for the aide and assistance of Sertorius, M. Perperna with a great multitude of souldiers. Cn. Pompeius made

Cn. Pompeius Magnus and Q. Catulus fight with Lepidus and ouercame him.

Sertorius leueth armies in Spaine.

Liuius Salinator the Lieutenant of Sertorius slaine.

way for himselfe through the Alpes, betwixt the famous springs of Padus and Rhodanus. He immediatly after his coming into Spain, did enter into conflict with two of Sertorius his capitaines, Herennius and Perperna, and not farre from the citie of Talentia ouercame them; Herennius was there slaine, Perperna escaped by flight. Pompey did passe the winter in the Pyrenæan mountaines, Sertorius in Lusitania, and at the beginning of the spring, Metellus and Pompeius did encounter with seuerall armies Sertorius and Perperna, in which battell Sertorius constrained Pompey to fly, and Metellus draue Perperna to the like extremitie, Pōpey was at that time wounded in the thigh, afterward they met againe at Seguntia, where Sertorius did the second time ouerthrow Pompey, and Metellus Perperna; the third time when Sertorius was coming against Metellus, Pompey meeting him in the way, caused him to retire: Sertorius did againe oppose himselfe to Pompey. Having taking Segida a noble citie of Celtiberia, where Sertorius lost a thousand souldiers & Pompey as many: then they turned theselues to

to the besieging of townes, Pompey did besiege Palantia, but Sertorius did raise the siege, and of them which besieged Caliguriū he did slay three thousand. Metellus and Pōpeius with great stoutnesse & stomacke took many citie that were leagued with Sertorius and at Illerda and Illiosca the townes of the Ilergitanes they put Sertorius to a desperate plunge, but Caliguriū the citie of the Vascos he did with much prowesse & puissance defend. Sertorius was like to Iugurth in his fight, and in his fortune not vnlike to him, the exploits and stratagemes of them both were singular and admirable, but their end and last euent was miserable and mournfull: Iugurtha was taken by treacherie: Sertorius by the treason of M. Antonius and M. Perperna his capitaines was slaine, as he was sitting at a banquet, in the eight yeare of his rebellion, his empire was presently transferred to M. Perperna, whome Pompey ouercame, tooke prisoner, and put to death, and in the tenth yeare after the beginning of this warre, he tooke Spaine. The Romanes were in these times busied & molested in Italie by certaine

Sertorius is
slaine.

fencers or sword players, trayned vp in a shadowed fight vnder the gouernment of Lentulus, but defying their maister, and stirred with an hellish humor to seate themselves in the highest thrones of honor (for as fire is to gunpowder, so is ambition to the heart of man, which if it be but touched with selfe-loue mounteth aloft and neuer bedeth downward till it be turned to ashes) they raunged themselves, and drew to their ensignes a great multitude of forlorn men. For in processe of time their armie did encrease to fourescore thousand and moe. The leaders were Spartacus, Enomans, and Crixus, who making great spoile and saccage in Italie, at length imbarrelled themselves vpon the mountaine Vesurius. Against them were sent Clodius Glauber, and Publius Varinius, but their armies were suddenly by these enemies discomfited: therefore the yeare next ensuing C. Lentulus and L. Gellius Consuls, and Q. Arrius the Prætor prepared against them. Crixus one of these rebellious capitaines, was together with his whole armie vtterly ouerthrowne: but Spartacus, in whome was more vigor of sinewes,

newes, courage, and counsell, conducting his souldiers from the Apennine mountaine, to the Alpes, and from the Alpes into France, was at the first enforced to retire by one of the Consuls, by the other to flye. But afterward hauing animated, surueyed, and marshalled his men, he did suddenly turne backe vpon the Consuls, gaue them battell, in several places ouercame them: & was marching toward Rome there to possesse himself of the Capitoles, and to erect a monarchie, but that the Consuls reuniting their dissipated forces, did hardly with much labour & great slaughter of men restraine and hinder him. But he hauing lost his purpose, yet not loosing his time surprised the goodly citie of the Thuri-
rians, where breathing for a while & refreshing his armie, and soone after reencountering the Romanes, he obtained a glorious victorie, and a plentifull spoile. This successe did notably enhance the pride of Spartacus, who presuming now that he was better then the Consuls, thought himselfe therefore fit to be a king. And as Athenio not long before, a shepheard and drudge in the fields, hauing

Spartacus a
fence-plaier,
doth encounter
the army
of the Con-
suls.

Spartacus
taketh the
citie of the
Thuri-
rians.

slaine his maister in Sicilie, and mustred vnder ensigne a great number of vagrant persons, by whose meanes he did spoile, and lay wast many hamlets, castles, and villages, and applauding to himselfe in this successfull pillage and roguerie, was adorned with a purple garment, strowted and walked along with a staffe of siluer, and enuironed his head with a crowne of gold: so did this rebell of Italie assume to himselfe a regall pompe and title, & making fortune his rest, which of all things is most vnlike to it selfe, thought he might as easily continue as beginne a conquest. But the Romanes who neuer could suffer victorie to warme her selfe long with the robes of a straunger, committed the whole scope and charge of the warre to M. Crassus their Prætor, a man ambitious and venturous: he hauing ioyned battell with Granicus one of the rebell chieftaines, did slay both the captaine and thirtie fye thousand of his souldiers, and after fighting with Spartacus did slay him, & with him fortie thousand, fye thousand onely escaped, whom Cn. Pompeius returning from the Spanish warre, did suddenly meete and

M. Crassus
appointed
for the warre
against Spar-
tacus.

and presently put to the sword. After these times M. Cicero being Consul, whose nouity and strangeness in Rome, the nobilitie and rarenesse of his good gifts might iustly excuse who for all his excellent qualities was more beholding to nature then education, as for his vertue famous, so for his eloquence most famous, by whom it was that the Romanes were not inferiour to them in wit, whom they vanquished in warre, the conspiracie of Catiline was detected and determined, and Cicero for his constancie, courage, & watchfulness, in suppressing the scalefire of that warre to the vtmost cinder, was intituled by the name of Pater patriæ, the father of his countrey. But before I enter into the discourse of his rebellion, I must make knowne the person of the traytor, and the cause of the treason. L. Sergius Catilina was in face and feature comely and absolute, in wit prompt and pregnant, in eloquence sweet and delightfull, in pompe and maiestie princely and regall, in courtly behauiour quaint and delicate: and to set vpon this gold a Diamond, of a most noble parentage. There were certaine

Cicero cal-
led Pater
patriæ.

Catiline his
qualities.

families amongst the Romanes, which surmounted & ouerheaded the rest, being most auncient and of a worthie originall, and they are parted into two discents, some of them hauing the Aborigines to their auncestours, and some the Troianes. The first and principall of the race of the Aborigines, was the familie of the Vitellij, being discended frō Faunus the king of the Aborigines, which did inhabite Italie before the comming of Æneas, and Queene Vitellia, which in many places was worshipped as a goddesse: the second was the familie of the Fabij, whose offspring is rightly deriued from Fabius the son of Hercules: the third was the lineage of the Antonij, issuing from Anton an other of Hercules his sonnes: the fourth was the race of the Potitij, so named of Potitius, who did with great curtesie entertaine Hercules, when he was entred Italie: the fift was the house of the Mamilij, borne of Mamilia the daughter of Telegonus one of Vlysses his sonnes begotten of Circe that notorious enchauntresse. The other families which referred their beginning to the Troiane roote, were ten in number:

first

first the house of the Iulij, who descended frō Iulus the sonne of Æneas: the second the Æmiliij, who tooke their name of Æmilius the sonne of Ascanius a Troiane, & of that house was the matchlesse Scipio, sonne to Paulus Æmilius, who being the Roman General destroyed Carthage. The third the Nautij of Nautes one of Æneas his companions: for when Diomedes hauing stolen the image of Pallas, did perceiue that it was of no vse to him, after the destruction of Troy he offered it as a present to Æneas passing by his kingdom, but as Æneas doing then sacrifice, was turning himselfe, Nautes did lay hold of the image, & by that meanes did appropriate the vse of it to himselfe, so that the Nautij and not the Iulij did enioy the mysteries of Minerva: the fourth the Cloælij of Cloælius an other of Æneas his companions: the fift the Iunij of Iunius an other of his associates: the sixt the Sergij of Sergestus one of the Troiane captaines, of which familie was L. Sergius Catilina, and before him none of that name was euer tainted with any sauour of rebellion. The seuenth the Memij of Mucstus, an other of the Tro-

The Image
of Catiline.

ianetrauellers, the eight the Cloantij of Cloanthus a bird of the same fether, the ninth the Giganij or the Gianij of the Troiane Gias, the tenth the Cæcilij of Sæculus a Troiane also who built Preneste. Catiline being adorned with the nobilitie aboue described, made himselfe through his vices and misdemeanors ignoble and odious: his life was the picture of licentiousnesse: to women he was so lewdly affectionate, that euery curtizane of Rome layed claime vnto him. And to marie Aurelia Orestilla into a vacant house, he committed the shamefull murder of his owne and onely child: for two things he promised her, and performed for her, which were tokens of a mercilesse heart, the balefull death of his son, and the chaunge of the state, in such sort that Aurelia Orestilla should be the Dictatresse of Rome. And for the performance he bound himselfe by a cursed circumstance, drinking mans bloud to fill his bloudthirstie humour. In all his actions he was a perfect Protean, framing and composing himselfe to all sides and sects: with the grauer sort of men he would be sad and seuerel: with the riotous, prodigall & excessiue:

Catiline kill
leth his own
sonne.

excessiue: with chaste matrons modest and buxome: with light huswiues wanton and vaine: with young gentlemen pleasant and actiue: with auncient fathers demure and deliberatiue: to the baser sort curteous and pitifull: to the nobler persons sociable and gratefull: so variable, & discoloured he was in his doings, that M. Cicero did greatly maruell at his manifold dexteritie. The first sparks of Catilines conspiracie began to blaze and appeare, L. Tullus, M. Lepidus being Consuls, sixe hundred eightie & seuen yeres after the building of Rome. At that time was Catiline greatly indebted, & because he could not discharge the summe within the time appointed and limited by lawe, nor bring in an estimate or valuation of his goods, whereby it might appeare that he was able to defray the debt, he was forbidden to make sute for the Consulship, whereupon being stirred by a reuengefull wrath, he sought by all meanes possible to execute his iniurious intent. There was at that time in Rome Cn. Piso, a man of desperate boldnesse, poore and yet presumptuous, Catiline did open and impart his meaning to

Catiline
greatly in-
debted.

Catiline for-
bidden to
make sute
for the Con-
sulship.

him and Pub. Antonius, and they three determined to kill the Consuls, which were made the next yeare after Catilines repulse. The inquisition of this matter was deferred till it came to greater ripenesse. Afterward they intended the death of the most part of the Senators: the time was appointed when their complices and confederates, abbetters, and assistants should meet in armour: but because Catiline perceiued that the number of these rebellious souldiers was not yet sufficient to giue onset to the citie, he withdrew his hand for a time, and dismissed the armie. But a yeare after M. Cicero, and C. Antonius hauing entred the Consulship, Catiline being now also disgraced with another repulse, recollected into his seditious braine his auncient plots and former villanies: then he conspired with P. Lentulus & C. Cethegus Prætors to worke the death of the Consuls, to slay the Senate, to burne the citie, and to alter the state: and for this purpose they did by letters inuite to this horrible massacre many Romanes that were employed in forraine seruice. This being apparantly euident, & dangers

gers being now at the doore; and in a readinesse, to pierce into the citie, vnlesse some mature aduise were presently taken, a Senate was appointed in the temple of Iupiter Stator, vnto which place shamelesse Catiline, imagining that he might bleare their eyes by a pretended purgation resorted also, and with an vnschaunged countenance shrowded vnder the habite of a Senator, the heart of a serpent. And because the method of this historie may seeme in allis place to require some description of the Senatorie state, I will briefly set downe the constant and perpetuall order of the Romanes in going to their senate house, though I cannot counteruaile with æquall termes, nor with a perfect discourse the great maiestie and pompe, that in this reuerend solemnitie was obserued. The first place in the proceeding to their Senate had the Dictator, (when that office was in esse) the next the Consuls, the third the Prætors: the Dictator was therefore preferred because his power was supreme, and was not subiect to the controll of any other, the Consuls were in the second place, because they were in præhemi-

The solemnitie which the Romans vsed in their proceeding to the Senate

nence next to the Dictator, and all the decrees of the Senate were ratified by the, bearing date according to the dignitie of their persons: their triumphs also were signed with the same marke: such a triumph was said to be done, such an one being the second time Consull, and such an one being the third time Cōsul, according as their aduancement was. In the third rancke of these greater Magistrates were the Prætors, because they had authoritie to call a Senate as the Dictator & the Consuls had, which was not permitted to the inferiour magistrates: they had also iurisdiction to examine any matter that was done within the hundred stone, after the vulgar supputation, within an hundred miles of the citie of Rome on euery side. Before the Dictator went twelue Liçtors or Sergeants, who at the bidding of the Dictator and Consuls did arrest offenders, and commaunded strangers that met them in signe of reuerence to light from their horses, they caried in their hands an ensigne of terror, a double poleaxe enuironed with a bundle of rods. The Dictator was caried in a chaire of estate, being clad with

with a purple gowne, edged with a crimson border, and inuested with a robe triumphall, which were the ornaments of the auncient kings of Rome: the same attire had the Consuls and Prætors, but the Prætors did weare a siluer coloured garment, and did alwaies ride vpon milke white horses: after these the next place had the Cēsors, if there were any at that time, for they were in the number of principall magistrates, their office being not of perpetuities, no more then the Dictatorship. After these being the more worthie potentates, the inferiour sort of the authorized persons did immediatly follow. The first of that order were the Ædiles of the chaire, because they were conueyed to the senatehouse in a chaire of yuorie, which monument of honour, as it seemeth was permitted vnto them, because in ancient times they were trusted and adorned with the entire regimēt of the citie: these were created of the bodie of the Senate: next to them succeeded the Ædiles of the people, which were raised to that dignitie from the roote of the people: after the Ædiles followed they which had borne office, though they

were not charged with any office that present
year. All of them feuerally marshalled accord-
ding to the worthinesse of their calling, the
Consulians, the Prætorians, the Edilitians,
the last place had the Senators, which had not
yet borne office. The number of them all in
such an assemblie did some time adcount to
the number of sixe hundred all of them, the se-
onely excepted who were borne in chaires of
estate, riding on faire pampered horses, and
long trailld gownes, the skirts of which were
circumscribed with these words, Senatus, po-
pulus, Romanus. VVhen the Senators were
placed, and euery one began to expect what
should be spoken agaiost the rebellious con-
federates, M. Cicero aiming at Catiline with
his eyes, did thus pierce him with his tongue,
& with this inde due reprocued his manners.

Cicero his
Oration a-
gainst Cat-
line.

Was there euer scene so great and noto-
rious impudencie, graue fathers and worthe
Senators, that a dissolute and disorderly re-
bell, a professor of prodigallitie and vnrubri-
nesse, a main maintainer of the cues, barrettors and
feditious slaughterers, a proclaimed enemy
to temperance, iustice, chastitie, & the whole
synode

synode of the saueroy vertues, a man on a
ther a monstge of many corrupted manners,
vambries, should dare so much as to haue this
sacred presence with his prophane person, &
though he conspire against vs, yet amongst
vs to consult? For consult (said he) nay to con-
ceale his treacherie. VVhat should she say do
amongst swans, or the owle amongst nightin-
gales, or the vultur amongst amongst fowles,
or Catiline amongst Catoes, as do we in dread
the thunderbolt when we see the lightening?
and can we loue the traitor when we loath
his treason? Canst thou so dissemble Catiline,
that we may not discerne thy doings? Nay
there is no deed of thine, no drift, nor deuise,
which I haue not heard, nay almost feeling, nay
almost felt. Here, here they be in this our as-
semblie (worthe Senators) in this most graue
and solemne counsell of the world, which
muse continually of our death, of the downe
fall of Rome, and the desolation of Italie. But
thou yet liuest Catiline, and yet thou liuest
not to abate, but to abet thy pride. VVhat va-
nitie hath bene at any time absent from thine
eyes, what villanie from thine hands? what

"president of vice fro thy person: what young
 "gentleman hath there bene a long time in this
 "citie, whome, if he were once corrupted by
 "the deceitfull baits of thy false entisements,
 "thou dost not animate and incite either to
 "desperate attempts, by carying the sword be-
 "fore him, or to effeminate examples by bea-
 "ring the torch before him, and yet thou ima-
 "ginest that thy doings are not misliked. Of
 "thee Catiline when the Romanes keepe fir-
 "lence they pronounee sentence, when they
 "suffer thy misdeedes they condemne them,
 "when they are at rest with themselves, they
 "are at deadly warre with thee. But why am I
 "so earnest against thee? Is it possible that any
 "thing shold amend thee? may it be hoped for
 "that thou wilt reforme thy selfe, that thou wilt
 "shake off these faults? that thou wilt banish
 "these enormities? Thou art not of so good &
 "verruous inclination, that honestie may re-
 "claime thee from whoredome, feare from vn-
 "iustice, and reason from outrage: to this mad-
 "nesse nature hath framed thee, frowardnesse
 "hath exercised thee, and destinie hath refer-
 "red thee, and for these deformities of thy na-
 "ture

"sure thou hast bene more feared then trusted, &
 "and indeede more wily then we haue here, &
 "tofore bene watchfull. But at length noble
 "Senators, L. Catillina enraged with boldnesse,
 "breathing out bloudshed, preparing in most
 "hainous manner a scourge for his countrie,
 "threatning to this citie fire and sword, is suffi-
 "ciently knowne and abundantly hated. No
 "plague can now be inuented of that monster
 "and horror of men within this citie against
 "this citie, but in that he hath not drawne his
 "bloudie sword out of our naked bodies, in
 "that he hath left vs alieue, in that we haue wre-
 "sted the weapon from his butcherous hands,
 "in that the citizens be safe, & the citie secure,
 "can ye coniecture with what a bitter agonie
 "and anguish of mind he is vexed: and if he be-
 "ginne hereafter to renew his furie, take cou-
 "rage my Lords, and leade out against his bro-
 "ken and outcast band, the flower and the po-
 "wer of all Italie, and consider with what foes
 "we deale, which surfeiting in banquets, ien-
 "bracing harlots, stuffed with meat, faint with
 "wine, adorned with garlands, soupled with
 "ointments, weakned by wantons, cast from

« their contagious mouths the flander of the
 « venous buer whom I do hope there than-
 « ght some heauie destinie: and that the pu-
 « nishment that hath bene long time due to
 « their unkeed lust and hobbomousnesse, is either
 « now imminent or now approaching: whom if
 « my Consulship do obaunce to quelle because
 « we cannot dure, it shall not procure a short sur-
 « shine of peace to the common-weale, but
 « whole ages and worlds of tranquillitie: that
 « which may be healed by any meanes it will
 « be healed by some meanes) that which must needs
 « be cut off I must needs cut off, therefore let
 « them either leane the citie, or leaue their tu-
 « mult, or if they will stay both in this citie and
 « in this mind, let them looke for their desert,
 « and assure themselves of the full measure of
 « rauenge; but if in stewes and rauernes they
 « sought onely beluing and baudrie, they were
 « more to be spared, but yet wholly to be dis-
 « paired of: but who can tollerate that cowards
 « should determine trecherie against the cou-
 « ragious, wild braines against them that be
 « wise, sottish drunkards against sober Senators
 « and sluggish drones against carefull magi-
 strates?

strates? These men building like gods vpon
 the earth, as if their houses should be hea-
 tiens, whilst they take their pleasure in sump-
 tuous coaches, great families, costly ban-
 quets, rich attire, and in the lewd companie
 of lasciuious curtizanes, are fallen into such a
 gulfe of debt, that if they would be free from
 it, Sylla is to be raised from the dead. But they
 shall soone perceiue, if they still persist in their
 naughtinesse, that there are in this citie vigi-
 lant Consuls, politicke gouernours, a puissant
 Senate, that we haue weapons, that we haue a
 prison, which our auncestors haue made a re-
 uenger of hainous and manifest faults. And
 now sith you are deliuered through my care
 and industrie from a swelling cloud of terrors,
 without battell, without bloudshed, without
 armie, without fighting. For this so great be-
 nefite noble Senators, I require of you no re-
 ward of vertue, no ensigne of honour, no mo-
 nument of praise, but an eternall record of
 this very time: I desire that all my deserts, all
 the ornaments of my person, the fruits of my
 glorie, and the good æstimation of my dili-
 gence, should be registred and enrolled in

« in your memories. No mutenesse, no silence,
 « no secret whispering can delight me, by your
 « remembrance worthie Senators mine actes
 « & exploits shall be nourished, by your words
 « they shall grow, by your writings they shall
 « not onely receiue life but æternitie.

Catiline his
 impudent
 answer to
 Cicero.

Catiline hauing all this while itching eares,
 but a more itching tounge, made in disorderly
 manner this disdainfull reply: I haue a long
 « time maruelled and now with astonishment
 « do wonder (ye noble Lords and ancient pro-
 « genie of kings) for as to the rest I will not bēd
 « my selfe to them but against them, that with
 « so patient eare, and minds impassionate, ye
 « can digest the cholericke railings of this rhe-
 « toricall parot, whome since we first promoted
 « from the pearch to the pinnacle, from the bar
 « to the bench, from the ground whereon we
 « go, to the tribunall whereon we sit, the Senate
 « sursetting long ago on his rude and vnmaner-
 « ly speeches, is now constrained to make a diet
 « of a discafe: vpon me as ye haue plainly per-
 « ceiued, he hath spent the whole chest of his
 « gall, who am as free from the crimes inten-
 « ded, as he is farre from the vertues which he
 ascribeth

ascribeth to you. He thought perhaps (what
 wickednesse I pray you hath he not thought)
 to blow me out of the gates of the citie, by the
 venomous aire of his impoisoned lungs; but
 maugre his malicious throat. I stand before
 his lowring face, to the abashment of his fro-
 zen forehead, and the confusion of his ill spea-
 king eloquence, as one irreproueable, being
 like a cage of chrystall, vpon which the more
 poyson is cast, the more cleare it doth seeme,
 I am not made (Consul Marcus) of so fleeting
 and brittle mould, that the gnashing of thy
 teeth should either fray me or fret me: but if
 I were guiltie of the faults alleadged, why was
 I not impeached of them before thy Consul-
 ship, but vnder the triumph of thy tearmes
 must suffer this intollerable iniurie? Catiline
 is an Epicure forsooth, because Cicero is a
 Stoicke, Catiline is wanton, because Cicero
 is iealous, Catiline is lawlesse, because Cice-
 roes will must be a lawe to him: Catiline is
 prodigall, because he hath not bestowed any
 bribes vpon Cicero: Catiline is rebellious,
 because Cicero is fearefull and timorous: Ca-
 tiline is an enemy to the common-weale,

"because he is not friend to Ciceroes priuate
 "pollicie: mightie accusations and vnanswera-
 "ble! Hath he not drawne bloud (trow you) of
 "Catilines credit? It grieueth me worthe Se-
 "nators, and trust me, it grieueth mine heart,
 "that the hope of the Romane youth, and the
 "sweet societie of gallant gentlemen your
 "selues attending, bearing, & forbearing, should
 "by the spawne of a ragge be so hainously dis-
 "graced: as for his distempered declamation
 "it is no noueltie with vs my Lords, for it is the
 "vsuall methode of his mercenare tounge, vpon
 "poore and pitifull presumptions, to hazard
 "the life and soule of his clients cause. But what
 "madnesse is it for one that is lately crept into
 "the citie to talke of antiquities, taking mat-
 "ters in hand which are elder then his memo-
 "rie, which were forgotten and dead before he
 "was begotten and borne? Thou art not aun-
 "cient enough Cicero to speake of our aunce-
 "stors, nor wortheie enough to talk of our wor-
 "thies, thou art as a pilgrime in this citie, thou
 "art ignorant of the orders and customes ther-
 "of, thou seemest to wander in another coun-
 "trie, and not to beare office in the Metropolis
 of

of Italie: thou threatnest vs with extremities,,
 and layest on load with imprisonments, as if,,
 our bodies should be anuils to thine hatred;,,
 but suffer not my sweet, mild and curteous,,
 magistrates of Rome, that vpon Ciceroes,,
 suggestion we should endure such reproch:,,
 the ignominie of arraignment is miserable,,
 the arresting of guiltlesse men is lamentable,,
 banishment is discomfortable, but the rack-,,
 ing, rowling, tearing and tormenting of men,,
 far be it not only from the bodie of a Romane,,
 but euen from his thoughts, from his eyes,,
 from his cares. For mine own part I confesse,,
 and professe, and pretend, that Catiline li-,,
 ueth not to please, but to displease and dis-,,
 place M. Cicero, of whome when I speake, I,,
 speake of tyrannie, of villanie, of basenesse,,
 and assure thy selfe Cicero, that either the law,,
 of Rome, or the lawe of reason shall be my,,
 warrant in this case, and to them that be dis-,,
 contented in this citie, thy fall will be a ge-,,
 nerall satisfaction.

Catiline departed out of the senate house
 continuing his furie, and because danger was
 feared, it was thought good that the Senate

should be dismissed in the night time. Catiline went with a slender guard to the tents of Manlius. Lentulus, Cethegus, and diuerse others that were priue to the conspiracie, and did as yet remaine in the citie, were arrested and imprisoned, and being conuicted by manifest euidence, were presently put to death. The day wherein the punishment of these traitors was decreed, did greatly illustrate & beautifie the worthinesse of M. Cato. He descended from M. Cato the Prince of the Portiā familie, after whome this Cato in degree of descent was accompted and numbred in the third place. This M. Cato was of all the Romanes most sincere, and most like to vertue it selfe, and seemed in his iustice and integritie to be nearer to God then to man, who did not liue honestly & orderly because he would seeme to be vertuous, but because it was against the course of his disposition to be dishonest and disorderly, thinking that onely to be reasonable, which was iust and lawfull: he was free from fancies, and had alwaies fortune in his owne power: he was then Tribune of the people, young in respect of his yeares, but

The lineage
of M. Cato.

The praise
of M. Cato.

but in wisdom and aduise a father, & a right Senator, who (when others perswaded that the conspirators should be kept alie in severall wards) being the last of them that sentenced the rebellious, did inueigh with such force of mind and wit against the conspirators, that by the vehemencie of his speech he cancelled their opinions, which perswaded lenitie, and made their softnesse to be suspected: and the greater part of the Senate in fauour of Catoes gracious seueritie, did accompany him to his house. C. Cæsar did at that time giue some token of a rebellious humor, whereof Rome tasted afterward too much, & himselfe in the end was poisoned with the dregs. Catiline hearing what was done at Rome, gathered an armie, and making a laborious iourney through the steepe and craggie hills, intended a voyage into that part of Fraunce, which is beyond the Alpes: which Q. Metellus perceiuing, who was leader of three bands of soldiers in the Picē prouince, he remooued his tents and pitched them at the bottome of the Pistorian heath, frō which place the armie of C. Antonius was not farre.

C. Cæsar inclined to sedition.

Catiline when he saw that he was on every side embayed with mountaines & armed men, chose rather to fight with Antonius, who committed the vanguard to the conduct of M. Petreius. Catiline in that battell gaue a sharpe onset, and continued the fight with an vndaunted stomacke, but in the end was slaine, and dying with great indignation, was there trampled to death by the hooves of horses. Thus he that did defend himself in the Senate house, was confounded in the field, and that by the iustice of destinie, who with a scourge of Steele followeth proud aspirers: this insolent Romane perceiued at the time of his death the deceitfull glose of his fawning fancie, & the vaine sophistrie of bewitching ambition.

L A-



LACHESIS,

Or the second Booke.



N. Pompeius for his great valor & magnanimitie iustly intituled Magnus, did in course of time grow to an exceeding greatnesse of authoritie, and had purchased through his worthie exploits, the loue, applause and admiration of the whole world, his father was Cn. Pompeius an approued souldier, and a Consularian, his mother was Lucilia a Senators daughter: he was of a comely personage, not so commendable for beautie, as for a pleasing and constant complexion, which continued euen to his last houre, his wisdom was of a wonderfull excellencie, his life in all parts absolute, his eloquence but indifferent, he was desirous to haue honour offred, but was not ambitious to vsurpe it, a fast friend & a religious obseruer of his word,

P

in reconciling me that were at variance most faithfull, in receiuing satisfaction for offences most easie, neuer vsing his power to impotencie, nor his wit to vanitie, from his cradle a souldier, in his youth a conqueror triumphant, and in all his warres couragious and dreadfull. For though Sertorius did more commend Metellus, yet he was more afraid of Pompey. And of the Spaniards he triumphed when he was but a Romane knight, not hauing as yet borne any office of estate. To be a knight of Rome was so much better then to be a common gentleman, by how much a patritian Senator was more honorable then a nouitian, whose auncestours were neuer of the Senate. And Pompey by degrees did endeavour to aduance his credit, and in the end by the conquest of many & mightie nations, became peereles. Mithridates his power was enfeebled by Sylla, disiointed by Lucullus, & broken in peeces by Pompey, after which victorie he subdued the Iewes, tooke their citie, and possesse the temple of Ierusalem, a rare and miraculous monument, which though he filled with his souldiers, yet he restrained the
from

Sertorius
feareth Pompey.

Mithridates
ouerthrowne
by Pompey.
Pompey entered the temple of Ierusalem.

from the spoile. In that warre he partly recovered, and partly subdued to the Romane power, Armenia, Colchis, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, and all the region of Palestine to the riuer of Euphrates. He ouercame beside Paphlagonia, Galatia, Phrigia, Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Ionia, and all that part of Asia which lyeth about Pergamus. He committed the regiment of Armenia maior to Tigranes, the Island of Bosphorus to Pharnaces, Cappadocia to Arioberzanes, Seleucia to Antiochus Commagenus: to Deiotarus and other Tetrarkes Galatia with Armenia minor, to Attalus and Pylæmenes Paphlagonia, to Aristarchus Colchis, to Hircane Palestine. And for a triple reward of these his victories, he had the blazon of three triumphs: the first was of Affricke, the second of Europa, and the third of Asia. After these triumphs ensued the Consullship of Marcus Bibulus and C. Cæsar, issuing from the famous familie of the Iulij, and conueying his discent from Anchises the Troiane father to Æneas: he was of excellent beautie, and in vigor of mind most sharpe and vehement, in his rewards boun-

Pompey honored with a triple triumph.

Cæsar his originall.

risfull, in courage farre aboue mans nature, or mans beliefe, in the haughtinesse of his thoughts, in the celeritie of his fight, in the suffering of bitter euents and casualties singular, in all his actions most like to Alexander the great, to Alexander I meane being sober, and neither surcharged with wine, nor overcome with wrath, vsing sleepe and meate not for the pampering of his lust, but for the continuing of his life. He was neare in bloud to C. Marius, and was Cinnaes sonne in lawe, neither during Syllaes Dictatorship could he by any means be moued to diuorce Cinnaes daughter, though M. Piso a Consularian, did for feare of Sylla sunder himselfe from Annia Cinnaes widow, by which constancie Cæsar did greatly endaunger himselfe; for his death was sought for by Syllaes officers, Sylla himselfe being ignorant of their purpose. Cæsar being made Consul, a league of soueraigne societie was concluded betwixt him and Cn. Pompeius, & M. Crassus. Pompey did therefore enter into that league, because he would haue his acts and deedes, which he had made in the prouinces before mentioned, that were conquered

Cæsars
death sought
for by Syllaes
officers.

conquered by him, fully confirmed and ratified by the Senate. Cæsar by taking that course had a double intent, to increase his owne honour by yeelding to Pompeis glory, and to establish his owne authoritie by charging him with the hatred of this treuirall power. Crassus had this drift to maintaine & preserue the æstimation which he had already obtained by the power of Cæsar, and the authoritie of Pompey. There was also an affinity contracted by marriage betwixt Cæsar and Pompey: for Pompey tooke to wife Iulia Cæsars daughter. Cæsar had the regiment of Fraunce committed to him by the Senate, after whose Consulship ended, and before his departure into Fraunce, P. Clodius Tribune of the people began to giue new edge vnto quarrels, and did with maine force bend himselfe against Cicero. For what agreement could there be betwixt them, when their manners did so farre disagree? The head of dissention was cut off when Catiline was slaine, the bodie also was mangled when his confederates were put to death, but the serpents taile did as yet mooue: for Clodius did seeke by all

Pompey
marrieth
with Iulia
Cæsars
daughter.

Clodius
Tribune of
the people
becommeth
seditious.

Clodius seeketh to reuenge himselfe vpon Cicero.

Clodius infamous for adulterie with Pompeia Cæsars wife.

Clodius infamous for incest with his sisters.

Clodius condemned by Senate.

meanes possible, to take reuenge on Cicero for the sharp seueritie vsed against his friends which were of Catilines seed-plot, and of that seditious league. But it was to be wondred at, that a man conuicted of so notorious and hainous crimes, durst proceede to such impudencie as to attempt the disgrace of M. Cicero, or any way to disturbe his quietnesse. At that time Clodius was infamous for his adulterie with Pompeia Cæsars wife, which amiddest the most religious & solemne rites of Bona Dea, this vnchast Tribune committed: and these ceremonies, which it was not lawfull for any man to behold, Clodius in womans attire did pollute. But he was the author of greater lewdnesse then this, when with his owne sisters he became incestuous, two of them being his sisters german, and married to two worthie Romanes, the one of them to Q. Metellus, and the other to L. Lucullus, the third was his sister by the halfe blood, the wife of Q. Martius. For these and other his faults, he was condemned by the seuerall censures of two hundred Senators at one Session, and this notwithstanding was absolued: so that I do

do greatly doubt, whether the Consuls that did absolue him, or Clodius that was absolued, did more deserue punishment: for by that meane such a window of impunitie was then opened, as could not be shut in the space of many yeares ensuing. But Clodius because he was Tribune, and because he was Clodius, did thinke all time lost wherein Cicero was safe. He was then in great fauour both with the people and Consuls: for when any commoditie was sought for by the Consuls, which could not be preiudiciall to the people, he would labour earnestly for the Consuls, and when the people would haue had any benefite which did not concerne the Consuls, he was wholly for the people: so that by displeasing neither, he pleased them both. Vpon this ground he aduentured to make lawes, amögst which one was enacted against thē who had put a Romane citizen to death without the iudgement of the people of Rome, which lawe though it ranne in generall termes, yet in sence and meaning it was directly leuelled against Cicero, who in his Consulship had by Senate condemned the confederates of Ca-

Cicero
mourneth.

tiline. Cicero perceiuing this did clad him-
 selfe with mourning roabes, the Senators al-
 so were attired with blacke, as the associates
 of his sorrow, the Romane knights did weare
 his colour, the inconsolate citie did droope
 and deplore his state, and the forreiners that
 heard thereof did enlarge the grieve. For the
 redressing of this maladie meanes were made
 to Crassus, Cæsar, and Pompey. But Cæsar
 denied to stand against Clodius, because he
 feared that the lawes and decrees made by
 him the yeare next before when he was Con-
 sul should be disanulled and abrogated by
 Clodius if he maintained hatred against him.
 M. Crassus was monies weathercocke, and an
 hungrie cormorant of coyne, and therefore
 refused to meddle in this matter, because they
 that craued the assistance of his authoritie,
 came not to him with golden faces: only Põ-
 pey did helpe, countenance, & comfort him,
 and protested openly that himselfe would ra-
 ther be slaine by Clodius, then Cicero shold
 be abused: but the Consuls commanding the
 Senators and others to lay aside their mourn-
 full sable, did so firmly lincke themselves to
 Clodius,

Clodius, both against Cicero and Pompey,
 that neither could Pompey profite him, nei-
 ther would Cicero stay in the citie. For how
 could he expect any better successe, L. Piso &
 A. Gabinius being Consuls, men of notori-
 ous naughtinesse, and raked out of the scum
 of Senators? Wherefore Cicero left the city,
 and in the very day of his departure, his house
 that stode on mount Palatine was burnt by
 Clodius, and the soile was consecrated to Li-
 bertie: his goods were confiscated, his lord-
 ships and farmes bestowed vpon others: there
 was a lawe also made touching his banish-
 ment, wherby it was prohibited that he shold
 not haue the vse of water and fire within the
 citie, that none within fise hundred miles of
 Italie should receiue him into his house, that
 none should make any motion for him to the
 Senate, that none should deliuer his opinion
 of Cicero, that none should dispute of that
 which was done, that none should speake of
 it, that none should go vnto him, that none
 should write vnto him. But in the end Cn.
 Pompeius hauing vndertaken emnitie with
 Clodius, being vrged by the earnest petition

Cicero com-
mitch him-
selfe to vo-
luntarie
exile.A sharpe law
made con-
cerning Ci-
cero his ba-
nishment.

Q

of Titus Annius Milo, and moued by the abundant kindnesse of his heroicall nature, did in his mind make speciall election of this care to reduce Cicero from banishment. VVherefore the yeare next ensuing, P. Lentulus and Q. Metellus being Consuls, Cicero by a Senâtoric decree was recalled from banishment with the great desire of the Senate, and the great reioycing of Italie. The ground whereon his house stooode, was exempted from religious consecration, and his house was not so shamefully throwne downe by Clodius, as it was sumptuously reedified by the Senate, his possessions were restored vnto him, and all the acts which Clodius made in his Tribuneship were adiudged to be void. Clodius did greatly indigne at the returne of Cicero, & hauing aggregated vnto him a rascall route of thriftlesse and vnconscionable ruffians, he partly draue away, and did partly maim and murder the carpenters and workmen, that were busied about the renewing of Ciceroes house, he burnt beside the house of Q. Cicero, he fought with Milo many times in the streets: he pursued Cicero with stones, clubs, and

Cicero recalled from banishment.

Clodius persisted to be an enemy to Cicero.

Clodius burnt the house of Cicero.

and swords, & arming all his men with brâds of fire in the one hand, and swords in the other led them to the burning of Miloes house: but this tempest and trouble of the citie, who did bestow kingdomes and take them away, and deuided the world at his pleasure, which burnt the temple of the Nymphes, that he might scorch the rowle in which his shame was enregistred, which with masons, architectes, and measurers of ground did suruey almost euery close and plot that lay neare vnto him, hoping in the end to make it his own purchase, and to dilate and extend his demesnes from the gate of Ianus to the top of the Alpes: which threatned death to Sanctia a matron, as holy in her manners as in her name, and to Apronius a young gentleman, vnlesse they would sell vnto him their inheritance: who told Furfonius in plaine termes, that if he would not lend him so much money as he required, he would carie him dead into his house. This enemy I say to all good men, to his neighbors, to forreyners, to his friends, to his kinsmen, was shortly after slaine by Milo, for whose death he did lye in awaite, and

Clodius threatned death to Sanctia.

Clodius is slaine by Milo.

his bodie being conueyed to Rome was loathed of the beholders; for it was the harbour of a foule ostridge.

Cæsar was now in hot warres against the French, of whose exploits as they did happen in nine yeares space, whilst he was President there by the commission of the Senate, I will make a brief rehearfall as the times did yeeld them.

The Helu-
tians flye be-
fore Cæsar.

In the first yeare the Heluctians, when Cæsar had scarcely set foote in France, burnt their houses, and leauing their countrie dispersed themselves in the fields of the Sequani, and so came to the coast of the Tolossians. Cæsar perceiuing that their abode in that place would be dangerous to the citie of Tolossa, and being earnestly intreated by the petition of the Ambarrians and the Allobroges, who did complaine themselves to be greatly vexed and disturbed by the Heluctians, remoouing his tents and hauing ouertaken them at the riuer of Arraris destroyed in pursuite all the villages of the Tigurines. Cæsars horsemen which were sent before to obserue what waies and pathes the Heluctians did

did take, were by them discomfited. Afterward they gaue battell to Cæsar, and in that battell they were ouercome, and yeelding themselves to Cæsars mercie, they were enioyned to resort to their owne countrie, and there to repaire their houses. Then Cæsar being moued by the complaint of certaine Frenchmē addrest against Ariouista the king of the Germanes, whome he did pursue in battell to the riuer of Rhenus.

The Helu-
tians ouer-
come by
Cæsar.

Cæsar pur-
sueth battell
against Ari-
ouista.

In the second yeare he waged battell against the Belgians, the most of which were slaine. The like successe had he against the Neruians.

Cæsar fighteth against
the Belgians
& Neruians.

In the third yeare fighting on the sea against the Venetians, he caused the to yeeld: and P. Crassus his Lieutenant did subdue almost all the countrie of Aquitania.

In the fourth yeare the Germanes passing with a great multitude ouer the riuer of Rhine arriued in Fraunce, whom Cæsar assaulting on the sudden did vtterly destroy: then he made a bridge ouer Rhenus, and determined to vex and exagitate the Germanes in their owne countrie, because France was so much

Cæsar ouer-
throweth the
Germanes.

Cæsar burneth the villages of the Sicambrians

Cæsar overcommeth the Britains

Cæsar reconciled to the Britains.

Cæsar reneweth his war against the Britains.

disquieted and molested by them, & hauing burnt there many cities and villages of the Sicambrians, being also certified that the Britanes did minister succour, and gaue encouragement to the conspiracies of the French, he sayled into Britaine, and constrained the Britanes by sharpe onset to yeeld vnto him. Cæsars nauie that transported his horse, was shrewdly shaken with a tempest, wherewith the Britaines being reuiued betooke them. selues againe to weapons, and fighting with Cæsar were put to flight: at length they sued to Cæsar for peace, which, he taking hostage of them did easily graunt, and returned into Fraunce, and the same yeare the Morines & Menapiās rebelling he reduced to obediēce.

In the fifth yeare Cæsar returning from Illyrium, to which place he went for the stopping and beating backe of an incursion made by the Pirustæ, came to his armie in Fraunce, and addressed warrefresh against the Britaines hauing broken truce, and enioying there a prosperous fight, a great multitude of the inhabitants being slaine, and a great part of the Island brought into the power of the Romanes,

Romanes, taking hostages, and imposing tribute he set saile for Fraunce.

In the sixt yeare the Eburons did rebell against Cæsar, Ambiorix being their king and Captaine, who in many places Cæsar fiercely and feruently pursuing, put to the sword and disperfed the remnāt of that rebellious companie.

The Eburons overcome by Cæsar.

In the seuenth yeare Cæsar went into Italy, vpon occasion of a mutinie which there did befall. The French thinking that he would be detained by domesticall warre, and that it would be hard for him to returne to his armie during that dissention, began now to take aduise of renewing warre against the Romanes. The Carnutians professing that they would be leaders to that attempt bound others vnto them by oath, and hauing appointed a day they repaired to Genabis, where many of the Romanes did negotiate, & were earnestly occupied and busied about their trafique & merchandise, all which were slaine by the French, which massacre being certainly reported at Aruernum and other parts of Fraunce, the Pietons, the Parisians, the Ca-

Treacherie against the Romanes in Fraunce.

Cæsar his
revenge vpon the rebels.

durcians, the Tureus, the Au'erci, the Lemo-
nickes, the Audians did ioine in armour and
did confederate with the Carnutians. Cæsar
hearing of this new enterprife made speedie
returne into Fraunce, and hauing placed se-
uerall garrisons in the cities of the Volscians,
of the Artonikes, of the Tolossians, & in Nar-
bo, which were nearest vnto the enemies, he
rooke Vellannodunum the citie of the Seno-
nes, & Genabis the chiefe towne of the Car-
nutians, which he spoiled and burnt, and ma-
ny other townes did he take, and seised v-
pon many of the rebels, receiuing some of
them into his mercie, & punishing very sharp-
ly the most notorious offenders.

In the eight yeare he pursued the Carnu-
tians to their vttermost ouerthrow: the Bello-
faci conducted by two valiant captaines Cor-
bius and Comius, were enforced to submit
themselues, and Corbius was then slaine by
Cæsar's horsemen.

In the ninth yeare Cæsar did not enterprife
any warlike affaires, but laboured specially
to cut off all occasions of reuolting: therefore
honorably emparling with the magistrates

of

of the cities: bestowing vpon the gouernors
great rewards, and burdening them with no
new taxes; he brought Fraunce being wearied
by many warres, to a perfect and perpetu-
all peace, and departed thence to Italie, but
was still garded with an armie of souldiers.

In the seuenth yeare of Cæsar's warfare in
Fraunce, Iulia Cæsar's daughter departed this
world, and Pompeis litle sonne which he had
by her, within a short space after died also;
which was a great cracke to the concord be-
fore continued. Pompey had alreadie proro-
ged his Præsidentship in the prouince of Spain
for five yeares: but the people of Rome did
exceedingly grudge, that either Cæsar or Pom-
pey should in any forraine prouince haue an
armie of souldiers at their commaund, sith all
warres both forreine and domesticall were
ceased & determined, because they thought
by that meane some daunger might grow to
the Citie: for Pompey being now in Rome,
did rule Spaine by Afranius and Petreius his
Lieutenants, hauing in seuerall cities seuerall
garrisons, and C. Cæsar had in the bosome
of Italie an huge host, & had then a garrison

Pompey his
Præsident-
ship in Spain
proroged.

R

at Rauenna, where he was personally resident this did seeme also inconuenient to many of the nobles, and Pompey shewed himselfe very partiall: for he did fawne vpon them which would haue had Cæsars armie dismissed, but was very aduerse to others who would haue measured him by the same compasse, who if he had died in Campania two yeares before the ciuill wars, where he was greatly assayed by sicknesse, at which time all Italie did make speciall vowes for his health, his glorie which was gained by sea and land he had caried vntouched to the graue. Vpon these considerations L. Lentulus and C. Marcellus being Consuls, a decree was made by the Senate, that within a time limited Cæsar should discharge his armie, and if he would not, that he should be accompted an enemy, for Cæsar would haue bene made Consul in his absence: but M. Cato did well answer, that no citizen ought to prescribe lawes to the common weale: wherefore it was ordained that Cæsar contenting himselfe with one legion, should beare only the title of the Presidēt of France, and that he should come into the citie as a

A decree made by the Senate, that Cæsar should dismiss his armie.

private

private man, & in his suite for the Consulship, should wholly relye vpon the voices of the people. C. Curio an impudent oratour, a mā wickedly witted, and eloquent for a publike mischief, whose mind no riches could satisfie, nor any pleasures sufficiently please, who first stood for Pōpey (as it was then accompted for the common weale, which I do not speake to reprocue, but that I might not be reprooued) and now was in shew and appearance both against Pompey and Cæsar, but in deed and mind wholly for Cæsar: this Curio Tribune of the people, posted in hast to Rauenna where Cæsar was, and signified vnto him the order of the Senate, applying his eloquence as a brand to the inflaming of Cæsars furie. Curio came to Cæsar at the entrance of twilight, when the cloud of vapours and exhalations, is by nature disposed to turn men into melancholie, which tooke so deepe hold on Cæsar, that making no answer to Curio, but casting himselfe on his bed he did in this sort expostulate with the Romanes.

Thus is Cæsar measured with a scantling, dicted with a paring, and rewarded with no

Cæsar is incensed by Curio against the Senate.

The passionate speech of Cæsar against the Senate.

" thing. Vanish from me thou sad and vgly cō-
 " cubine of Erebus, thou grimme and duskie
 " night, which with thy blacke circumference
 " doest hoodwinke our senses, driuing the day
 " from vs before we can flesh our swords, con-
 " tracting our sinewes when they are but new-
 " ly stretched, causing vs to lurke in our cab-
 " bions when we should cleaue to the throats of
 " our enemies; vanish I say from me, and delay
 " not with thy lingering minutes my expeditiō
 " against Rome. Against Rome? ô the eccho of
 " my heart! nay for Rome, against the Ro-
 " manes, amongst whom is Cn. Pompeius Ma-
 " gnus, but not yet Maximus, for he lacketh a
 " degree of that, and before he can attaine to
 " it, there will be effusion of bloud by successiō.
 " But what careth he for that, was he not one of
 " Syllaes whelpes, whose sword reaking with
 " Italian bloud he so greedily licked, that the
 " tast thereof doth as yet relice in his rauinous
 " and polluted lawes? But learne of Sylla, learn
 " of thy Sylla Pompey, that a tyrant bathing
 " himselfe in goare, shall at length sinke by the
 " weight of his cruelties. VVhat Cæsar hath
 " done, I referre to the Oracle of Bellona, what
 he

he will do: I leaue to the concealed decree of
 sacred vengeance: what he may do, let the
 foredoming Parcæ prædestinate: what he
 ought to do let warlike iustice pronounce.
 VVas not Pompey made Consul without
 suing, without seeking, without speaking? and
 shall I requesting, yea and humbly requesting
 suffer a repulse? Fortune thou mightie and
 miraculous Goddesse, which in a moment
 doest procure a world of varieties, whetting
 with thine anger the points of our launces,
 shaking crownes and kingdomes with the
 spurne of thy foote, triumphing ouer our vi-
 ctories with the speckled wheelles of thy vo-
 luble chariot, controlling our hope with thy
 frowning countenance: thou knowest great
 goddesse, that if Rome hath at any time flou-
 rished: if it hath at any times tasted the pure
 and vnmingled extract of sincere happinesse,
 if it were euer caried on the brode wings of
 fame, if it did euer swim in a floud of plentie,
 it was through Cæsar and his fortune, & yet
 we are now despised, and yet we will not be
 despised; fortune is able to reuenge the
 iniurie done to Cæsar, and Cæsar will
 alwaies fight for the præheminence of his,

fortune. Therefore for the honour of Æneas
 against the defacers of his race, for the credit
 of mount Palatine, against the vniust magi-
 strates of Rome, for the glorie of Romulus
 who shineth in the heauens like a giant-starre
 against the seditious repugnants, I will shoot
 the sting of my wrath, and they shall well per-
 ceiue that Cæsar esteemes no better of his
 enemies, then if a sort of hares should be har-
 nessed, which would trust rather to their feete
 then to their force: auant fro me pitie thou
 feminine passion, for I will deriue my name
 of a martiall act, and wil be called à cædendo
 Cæsar, possesse therefore my heart thou dread-
 full Nemesis, ranfacke my vaines, rage within
 me wrath, assist me fiends, furies, and ye de-
 formed ghosts, subiect to the seuered edict of
 the baser destinie, make your seats and circles
 in the wast of Italie, and neuer forsake that
 place, till the fierie brightnesse of Cæsar's su-
 premacie do deterre you from thence.

Cæsar in this rage of mind, carried away
 with the whirlwind of his turbulent spirit,
 left Rauenna and passed ouer Rubicon: the
 Senate hearing of his rebellion, decreed that
 Pompey

Pompey should be Generall, & that he should
 haue monie out of the common treasure.
 There was present choise made of souldiers
 throughout all Italie, warres were proclai-
 med, and taxes were imposed vpon the con-
 fines, suburbs and confederate cities. Cæsar
 hauing passed Rubicon seized vpon diuerse
 townes of Italie, Pisaurum, Fanum, Ancona,
 Tignium and Auximon, and he ran ouer all
 the Picene prouince, with his armie which
 was forsaken of Lentulus Spinther the gouer-
 nour there, and from thence he went to Cor-
 finium, which was held of L. Domitius Ahe-
 nobarbus, which he enioyed hauing Domiti-
 us also in his power, a most constant friend to
 Pompey, whose standard was at no time ad-
 uanced, but it was worshipped and follow-
 ed by Domitius: whome Cæsar did in this
 maner greet: Domitius I do franckly pardon
 thee & all those which belöge to thy charge, &
 with these words I make a perfect disclaime
 of anger and enmitie, I giue thee also free
 choise and election, whether thou wilt be a
 captaine in Cæsar's campe, or still adhere to
 Pompey. Domitius not demurring vpon

Pompey is
 appointed
 by the Senat
 Generall a-
 gainst Cæsar

Cæsar par-
 doneth Do-
 mitius.

Domitius
flyeth to
Pompey.

118 LACHESIS, OR

Cæsar offer, did incontinent fly to Pompey, who was then at Brundisium, and there were many at that time which did obserue the like faithfulness to Pompey, to whom Cæsar did more plentifully offer the benefite of life, tho they did thankfully receiue it. Cæsar hasted to Brundisium to assault the Consuls in that place, but failing of his purpose he addressed toward Rome: there was then in the citie great feare and amazednesse, the people calling to memorie the crueltie of Marius, the matrons with their rent haire did display their fearefulness, the young damfels with salt teares did blemish their faces, their shrieking voices & deepe drawne sighs, did moue the heauens to a sympathie. The silly babes flying as it were from the face of Cæsar, did cleaue to the breasts of their parents, the sturdiest necks did then begin to stoope, and the strongest hearts to melt, and nothing could be scene in Rome but signes of sorrow: for as the earth when she is disrobed of her budding and fructifying trees, and of her amiable verdure, which is her onely grace and garment roiall, is like a naked table wherein nothing is

THE SECOND BOOKE. 129

is painted, so was Rome at that instant being bereaued of her young and lustie gentlemen, euen as if the springtide should be taken from the yeare: and a great deformitie did then also arise by the absence of the graue and auncient fathers, who with their spreading shadow did shield and protect the bodie of the citie, and did nourish the rising plants of the generous brasill, gathering strength and soliditie vnder the curtaine of their boughs. Cæsar hauing entred Rome, vsed all sorts of men with great kindnesse and curtesie, and hauing conuocated an assemblie declaring and aggrauating vnto them the iniuries of his enemies, he transferred all the blame vpon Pompey, and made a notable pretence, that he was desirous of vnitie, and that peace was the virgin of his heart. But Cæsars Diamond was nothing else but glasse, and his words nothing but wind, which at that present was clearly and evidently perceiued, for he went in great hast to the temple of Saturne, where the treasure of Rome was before his ransack inuiolably kept, and at the gates of the temple L. Metellus Tribune of the people did

boldly resist him, and with these words entertained him.

Metellus his
speech to
Cæsar.

Cæsar the lawes of Rome haue made this place sacred, thou shalt not enter into this temple but through the sides of Metellus, & no coine shalt thou carrie from hence without bloudshed: vnsheath therefore thy blade, and feare not lest thy wrongs be espied: for alas we are now in a desolate citie, there be so few to condemne thy doings, that there be almost none to see them: thy priuate and rebellious souldiers shall not haue their pay out of the treasure of Rome, and if thou wouldest be rich by violence, there be strange ways for thee to batter. Cæsar in this sort replied vnto him.

Shamelesse churle as thou art, this right hand shall not vouchsafe thee so much honor as that thy bloud may shine vpon a souldiers Steele. Metellus, thou art not worthie of my wrath, and where thou hoifest vp the saile of lawes and customes, assure thy selfe Tribune that the lawes of Rome had rather be cancelled by Cæsar, then confirmed by Metellus. In the end by the earnest intreatie of his friends,

who

who were addicted to Cæsar rather for feare then contrarietie of opinion, Metellus gaue place to Cæsar, and he rushing suddenly into the temple, caused the treasure which in many yeares space was leuied by polles, which was gained in the Carthaginian war, and in the victories had against Philip Perseus, and Pirrhus, together with the tribute of Asia, of Creet, and the wealth which Cato brought from Cypris, and which Pompey purchased by his warres, being caried before him when he triumphed, to be laid on asses backes, and to be caried as the sinew and supporter of his warres. This was thought the foulest act that euer was committed by Cæsar, and it was neuer feared that Rome should be poore by Cæsar. This captaine being as glad for this new bootie as some of his friends were sorie, led his souldiers toward Spaine, where Afranius and Petreius did rule the affaires vnder Pompey, but he did so masserate them with famine that he possessed the greatest part of Spaine, without shedding many drops of bloud: then he went into that part of Spaine, which is now called Andeluzia, where M. Varro captaine

Cæsar seized the treasure.

Cæsar marched toward Spaine.

to a great number of Veteranes, did hold a forcelet, but he being daunted with the presence of Cæsar, resigned all the prouince into his hands: then he marched toward Dirrachio, taking by the way Orichum and Apollonia an Vniuersitie towne, where his Nephew Octavius was taught at that time in the liberall artes and sciences, who is said to haue accompanied his vncle in the warres following, but because it is a tradition of more antiquitie then credit, I do rather note it then affirme it. The fortune that Cæsar had, and the credite which Pompey enjoyed in forraine nations, were two enticing lures, that drew to their seuerall camps a great multitude of forrainers. To the assistance of Pompey from the coast of Greece which lyeth about the rockes of Cyrrha, and the clouen hill of Parnassus, came a great armie of the Phocenseans, from Thebes and the regions thereabout came the Bæotians, the Pisæans, and the Sicaniâs: from the townes that lye vnder Mænalus and OËte came the Dryopes, the Threspoti, and the Sellians: from Creet and Gortyna a number of good archers did present themselves to Pompey:

The forreiners which were readie in armes for the assistance of Pompey.

Pompey: from Dardania, from Colchis, and the shore of the Adriaticke sea, the Athamârs, Enchelians and diuerse others: besides these flocked vnto him: thousands from Babylon, Damascus, and Phrygia; together with the Idumæans, Tyrians, Sidonians and Phænicians: there came also from Tarsus, from Cilicia, from India, Persia, Armenia, Arabia, and Ethiopia. For the aide of Cæsar there came many Scythians, Hircanians, and from diuerse regions beyond the hill Taurus: likewise the Lacedæmonians, the Sarmatians, the Lydians, the Essedones, the Arimaspians, the Massagites, the Mores, the Gelonians, the Marmarians, the Memnonians and they that dwell beyond the pillars of Hercules were readie in armour and shewed themselves seruiceable to Cæsars commaund. Cn. Pompeius partly to welcome the straungers that came to Dirrachio, and partly to encourage the Romanes which did follow him, and to make the cause of the vndertaken warre manifest to them all, the Nobles and Senators sitting round about him in harnesse, vsed this speech vnto them.

The straungers which were assistant to Cæsar.

Pompey his
oration to
his souldiers

Let it not any whir dismay you friendly
 " forreiners, and faithfull harted Romanes, that
 " you are now farre from the wals of the taken
 " citie, and if the Italian ingenuitie, and the
 " heate of the Romane bloud be as yet warme
 " within the Romanes, let them not marke v-
 " pon what earth they stand, so they stand vpon
 " the ground of a good and lawfull quarrell. It
 " is I trust euident to you all that we are the Se-
 " nate: for if we were in the vtmost climate of
 " the world, and directly vnder the freezing
 " waie of the Northerne Beare, yet in our
 " hands should be the administration and regi-
 " ment of the affaires of Italie. VVhen Camil-
 " lus was at Veios Rome was there also, and
 " the Romanes forsaking their houses, did ne-
 " uer chaunge their lawes. Now is Rome Cæ-
 " sars captiue, and a sort of sorrowfull hearts
 " hath he there in hold, emptie houses, silent
 " lawes, and close courts: we are here as the pu-
 " nishers of Cæsars faults, and the armor which
 " we now beare, is but onely the wrath of re-
 " uengefull Rome. Cæsars warfare is as iust as
 " Catilines, and when he should be like to the
 " Scipioes, and the Marcelli, he falleth into the
 rebellious

rebellious faction of C. Marius, Lepidus, ,
 Carbo, Sertorius: and yet in truth I honour ,
 him too much to consort him with these. He ,
 maketh accompt of me as of one withered, ,
 halfe dead and foredone with yeares: but it ,
 is better for you to haue an ancient captaine, ,
 then for Cæsar to leade an armie of spent and ,
 outworne Veteranes. And though the age ,
 which hope doth follow be farre more plausi- ,
 ble and acceptable, then that which death ,
 doth pursue, yet wisdom and experience ,
 proceede from elder times; & the head whose ,
 haire resemble the feathers of the swan is a ,
 Senarehouse to a good armie. And if I may ,
 not be a souldier, yet I will be the example of ,
 a souldier vnto you. The æstimation that I ,
 haue alwaies had amongst you Romanes, by ,
 whose meanes I haue bene extolled to that ,
 honour, aboue which neuer any Romane ci- ,
 tizen did ascend, may warrant my warfare. ,
 VVith vs also are both the Cōsuls, with vs the ,
 armies of many forraine kings & potentates. ,
 Is Cæsar trow you so venturous, because he ,
 warred so lōg against the vnruly French? why ,
 it was but a sporting practise, more fit to ,

"traîne his souldiers, then to merite triumph:
 "or hath his fortune against the Germanes
 "raised his courage, he went not so speedily to
 "the Germanes as he departed from them,
 "and rather fearing them then feared of them,
 "he called the Germane sea the whirlepit of
 "hell: or doth his bloud begin to boile within
 "him, because the fame of his furie did suddely
 "drive the Senators out of their houses and
 "harbours: VVhen I displayed my blazing en-
 "signe vpon the Ponticke sea, the Ocean was
 "no more traced with the pirate ships, but they
 "did all crowd into a narrow corner of the
 "earth. Mithridates that vntamed prince, who
 "long expected when victorie should flie from
 "Rome, I enforced to take his pauillion, in
 "which he died like a fugitiue coward, & ther-
 "in I was more fortunate then the most fortu-
 "nate Sylla. There is no part of the world with-
 "out my trophées, and what land soeuer lyeth
 "vnder the sunne, hath either bene vanquished
 "or terrified by Pompey: and I haue left no
 "warre for Cæsar, but this which now he main-
 "taineth, in which though he ouercome, yet
 "he shall neuer triumph. VVherefore the nea-

rer

rer Cæsar doth approach vnto you, the more
 let your courage rise, or if words cannot pre-
 uail, imagine that you are now vpon the
 banckes of Tiber, and that the Romane ma-
 trons standing vpon the wals of the citie, with
 streaming teares, and disperfed hairelockes,
 do exhort you and intreate you to fight: Ima-
 gine that out of the gates of the citie the old
 and grayheaded fathers, that are not able to
 weild weapons do prostrate vnto your feete:
 their hoarie heades, requiring succour and
 defence of you: and thinke that Rome her self
 fearing a tyrant boweth vnto you: thinke that
 the infants which are alreadie borne, & which
 hereafter shall be borne, haue mingled their
 common teares, and that they which as yet
 neuer saw the light, desire to be borne free,
 and they which do now liue desire to dy free:
 and if all this will not serue, then Pompey (if
 he may so debase the maiestie of a Generall)
 with his wife and children will fall before your
 feet. But this is my last behest that I require of
 you, let not Pompey who in his youth hath
 alwaies honored you, be dishonored through
 your default in his dying yeares, for your

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« felues, for your kindred, your freedome and
 « good estate. I protest thus much, that I will
 « neuer returne to Rome but I will carrie peace
 « in my hand, and the Oliue braunch shall be
 « my ensigne. The Romanes were greatly em-
 boldened hearing these words, seeing their
 Generall so youthfully minded, & as it were
 refined in the mould of Mars. VVherefore
 they expected Cæsar with prepared minds.
 And Cæsar hauing now præfected gouernors
 ouer Orichum and Apollonia, made great
 hast to Dirrachio, in which place at his first
 comming Pompey gaue him the onset, and
 made him to flie hauing lost a great part of
 his armie: and though M. Antonius came not
 long after to Cæsar with a fresh supply, ready
 to face and brest the enemye, yet Pompey did
 so plague thẽ with continuall warring against
 them, when he saw conuenient time, that Cæ-
 sars victuals being almost wasted, he was faine
 through penurie of corne to flye into Thessa-
 ly, and Pompey speedily pursuing him in the
 champion plaine of Pharsalia, pitched his
 tents directly against Cæsar. In Pompeis
 campe all things were glorious, magnificent,
 and

Pompey put-
 teth Cæsar
 to flight.

M. Antonius
 helpeth Cæ-
 sar.

and glittering in shew: in Cæsar all things
 powerfull, actiue, and strong. The Romanes
 being thus deuided both parties were greatly
 enflamed with desire of fight: Pompeis sould-
 diers were readie to deprive him of the en-
 signes, and to enter the field without a Gene-
 rall: so deliberatiue was that noble Captaine
 of their welfare, and so desperate were they
 and carelesse what befell vpon them. In Pom-
 pey there was this desire and thought to o-
 uercome with as little bloudshed as might be.
 But what fiends and damned spirits diddest
 thou inuocate Caius Cæsar? what Stygian fu-
 ries, what infernall haggies, and what nightly
 terrors diddest thou intreat? to what Eumeni-
 des diddest thou sacrifice, intending such a
 generall slaughter? Pompey being earnestly
 vrged by his souldiers thought good to mar-
 shall his men, and to set the armie as might be
 most conuenient for the soile whereon they
 were to combat. The left wing of the armie
 was committed to L. Lentulus, the leading
 of the right wing had L. Domitius, the
 strength and middest of the battell did whol-
 ly relie vpon P. Scipio: vpon the bankes and

Pompey
 marshalleth
 his armie.

sides of the riuers did march the Cappadoci-
ans & Ponticke horsemen: in the brode field
were Tetrarches, Kings, and Princes, and all
the purpled Lords that were tributarie to
Rome: Pompeis squadrons were furnished
with many Romanes, Italians, and Spaniards.
Cæsar seeing his enemies to haue discended
into the plaine, was heartily glad that so good
occasion was offred him, and that the day was
come which with a million of wilhes he called
for: wherefore departing out of his tents and
marshalling his souldiers he made toward
Pompey. In this battell, the fathers face was
directly against the sonnes, the brother was
preparing himselfe against his brother, the
vnckle was the first that leuelled at the nephew,
and he that did slay most of his kindred was
accompted most couragious. VVhen the trū-
pers denounced the warres, and gaue a signe
of fight, the Cæsarians did fiercely giue assault
to the Pompeians. The force and vigor of the
warre did consist in the launces, speares, and
swords, which Pompey had well prouided a-
gainst, by ioyning the targets one with ano-
ther, so that Cæsar had much ado to breake
the

The Cæsari-
ans giue the
first assault.

the array: but fearing lest his foremen should
faint, he caused the transuers legions to fol-
low his ensigne, who as it were with a side-
wind aduenturing vpon Pōpeis armie, stroke
them downe on each side so fast as they went.
The barded horse being incensed with the
heate of the warre, his heart being boared
with the point of the speare, exempted him-
selfe from the reine. The Barbarians being
not able to restraine them gaue way to Cæ-
sar, and the foming steede being now the re-
gent of the field, the fight was confused and
disordered: for vpon whom the dart did vn-
certainly light, leauing their horses perforce
they lay groning and groueling on the earth,
till the hoofes of the arrearng coursers did
crush the veile of their braines. Cæsar was
now come to the heart and center of Pom-
peis armie, but the night drew on which
made both sides pause: Cæsar did thanke his
souldiers, and gliding through euery troope
and band of them, he did put nourishing oile
into their burning wrath. He tooke view of
their swords, curiously obseruing whose wea-
pon was ouerflowed with bloud, and whose

was dipped at the point, whose hand did treble and whose was stedfast, who changed the countenance through feare, & who through furie, and casting his eyes on the prostrate carcasses, frowning vpon them with curled forehead, as not yet satisfied he fed his irefull lookes with the desolate aspect of his slaine countriemen, but if he perceiued a gaspe in the flesh of his owne souldiers, he would endeavour to close it vp with his hand, & giuing them words of comfort and encouragement did sooner heale them then indeede they were healed. At the dawning of the day next ensuing, and at the first entrance of that mornings bloudie houres, when the welkin had put aside the vizard of the night, the starres being couered and the earth discovered by the Sunne, Cæsar giuing his souldiers new swords, new darts, speares and launces, and awaking their courage, giuing them also to vnderstand with the point of his launce, in what part of the aduerse armie the forreine kings, the Consuls, the Senators, and the nobilitie were placed, directed them as it were by aime, to gage the bodies of many excellent men,

men, who entangling their weapons in the intrals of these noble enemies, did throw to the ground & to extreme ruine many princely potentates: many reuerent persons were buried in goare: many of the Lepidi, of the Metelli, of the Coruini and Torquati: but amongst the rest the fortune of Domitius was dolorous and despitefull, he as before hath bene said, was once pardoned and dismissed of Cæsar, but now was singled out by Cæsar and grieuously wounded, but yet so great was his mind that he would not stoope to begge a second pardon, whome Cæsar looking vpon like a tyrant, and seeing him rowle his fainting members in the moistned dust, did with this bitternesse insult, giuing him the scornfull gaze: L. Domitius now I hope at length you wil forsake your maister Pompey, hereafter I trust you will practise no enmitie against Cæsar. But as good fortune would, he had as yet breath enough to replie in these few words, Cæsar I dy a free man, and I go to the region of Proserpina, not seeing thee as a conquerour, but as yet inferiour to Pompey, and euen at my death am I refreshed with this

Cæsar his
speech to
Domitius.

hope, that thou liuest to be subdued by the rigor of destinie, which wil take reuenge both for vs, and for thy sonne in law. Hauing spoken these words his life fled from him, and his sight was taken away with a dreadful darknesse, by whose wounds so much bloud was not lost, as there was glorie gained. For he gaue a cleare token of an honorable mind, accompting it a great deale better to haue dignitie without life, then life without dignitie. But Cæsar thinking nothing to be done if any thing were vndone, ragingly and earnestly did seeke for the person of Pompey, & rushing into the thicke of his souldiers, neuer stretched out his arme without deaths warrant, and neuer looked backe but when he saw none to fight withall. Pompey standing a farre off on the top of an hill, seeing the fields to swimme with bloud, and the Romane Senate to be nothing now but an heape of carcasses, and that his owne decay was sought for by the bloud of a multitude, reseruing himselfe to some better fortune, forsooke the field and fled to Larissa. Cæsar perceiuing it, thought it better to giue some rest to his armie,

Pompey
flieth to La-
rissa.

mie, then with a sudden pursuite to make after him: wherefore he retired his souldiers, & came to Pompeys tents. VWhen the wandering night was chased from the inferiour Islands by the recourring day, and the Sunne had imparted his brightnesse to our vnder-neighbors, and the dreames were readie to possesse the Theater of the fancie, the wearisome creatures of the world declining to their rest: the Cæsarians hauing ransacked Pompeis tents, and refreshed their fainting bodies with the viand there left, betooke themselves to their ease, and reposed their wearied limmes in these plots which the Pompeians did before lodge in. But how shall I describe the deformitie of that night, in which hell did breath out the ghosts of them that were slaine, the aire was infected with contagious vapours, and the starres trembled at the beholding of the vncouth Stygians? Sleepe did bring no quietnesse vnto them, but flames, murmurs, horrors, and the hideous sounds of the shrieking Harpies. The ghost of the slaughtered Romane did appeare vnto them, and euery mans fancie was a fiend vnto him: some did

The dreams
and visions
of the Cæsarians.

thinke that they beheld the image of a young man, some of an old man, others did dreame that their brethren were come to take reuēge on them; but in Cæsars mind were all these terrors: the slaine Senate did seeme to encō-
passe him on all sides, brandishing their fierie swords, sweating, frying and dropping with rosen and sulphur, and the greatest torment of all was a guiltie conscience. He was now molested with the powers of hell, when his enemies that suruiued slept quietly in Larissa. Pompey after his mishap in Pharsalie made speedie voiage toward Egypt where Ptolome did raigne: for Pompey hauing procured the restitution of his father to the throne of Egypt, and with many other singuler benefites hauing deserued his fauour, thought that the young Prince in a kind regard wold haue entertained him according to his honour and desert: but who doth busie his memorie in recounting benefites? and who will thinke himselfe beholden to one that is distressed? and when doth not fortune chaunge friendship? Ptolome, vnthankfull Ptolome, disleagued with the senselesse litargie of soule ingratitude, when

Pompey tra-
uelleth to
Egypt.

when by certaine report he heard that Pompey had approched to the shore, sent out his dire and dreadfull messengers to deprive the aged bodie of the vnuanquished mind. And when Achilles that bold butcherer did with his glaue portend the last end of his daies, Pompey whose excellent qualities might encline a massagite to mercie, craued with constant countenance but a word or two of them, and as for life he was content to leaue it: the sauage helhound would scarcely condescend to this request, but at length his tygers heart yeelded, and Pompey in few words wishing to the Romanes libertie, to his wife comfort, to his sonnes safetie, was beheaded by these mercilesse Egyptians, and his head was born as a present to Ptolome, which was farre too good a present for so lewde a prince. But how false was this world to Pompey, who had not now earth enough for his sepulture, to whom before the earth was too little for his cōquest: but rare is that bird whose feathers do not moult, and happie is that man whose glorie doth not eclipse. Cæsar made hast after Pompey with an hote and earnest pursuite, not

Pompey is
beheaded by
the Egyptians.

knowing that he was prevented of the prize which he aimed at, and as the beasts which nature hath placed in the wilderness, when poore pilgrimes walke by their solitarie and vncouth dens, runne all together with one rage, hunting their footsteps, euery one thinking to purchase the pray, the Lion, the Leopard, the Beare, the Beuer, the Tiger, the Luzerne and the VVolf, making the woods to ring with hollow outeries. So the Cæsarians did enquire and make after Pompey, amazing the seas with sounding trumpets, drums, fifes, and shawmes, and neuer ceased their pursuite till they were arrived in Egypt, where they were royally entertained of Cleopatra the Egyptian princeesse, who with complaint and mournfull melodie, did allure Cæsar, admiring her singular beautie, to tame and suppress the pride of Ptolome, who had then deforced her from her soueraigne estate. Cæsar did not deny this faire Oratresse, hauing already perswaded him, if her toung had bin silent. Mars spent a long time with Venus, and before his departure from thence Cleopatra was another Calphurnia vnto him. But why do

Cæsar entertained of
Cleopatra,

do I name Calphurnia? For what proportion can there be betwixt a chaste matron and a shamelesse courtizan. Cæsar labouing to restore Cleopatra to her former dignitie was suddenly assaulted by the king of Egypt with an huge armie, and in that warre he was driven to many extremities, the conduit pipes were cut a sunder, and he was besieged on euery side being as yet in Cleopatras pallace, but in the end wrastling out of these misfortunes, he gaue battell to the Egyptians at Pharoes, and conueying himselfe into a gallic for the defence and safegard of his fleete which was grieuously tost, he was so vexed and shaken by his enemies, that he was faine to leaue his gally, and swimming a great way in the riuer of Nilus, returned with great difficulty to his armie, but at the last encountering the Egyptians at Alexatidria, he put the king and his whole armie to the sword: and in these warres was burnt the notable librarie of Ptolomeus Philadelphus, but much against Cæsars mind, who as he was specially learned so he made speciall accompt of that monument of learning. Cæsar hauing raised Cleo-

Cæsar is assaulted by
the king of
Egypt.

Cæsar swim-
meth in the
riuer of Nilus

patra to her prillinate roialtie, departed from Egypt and hastened toward Vtica, but in the way being informed that Pharnaces the son of Mithridates, whome Pompey when he had finished the warre against Mithridates, had made king of Bosphorus, had subtracted from the Romanes, and atchieued to himself Capadocia, Colchis, Armenia, and part of Pontus: Cæsar sent against him Domitius Calpurnus, whose armie was discomfited by Pharnaces. Cæsar did then in person make expedition against him, and assaulting him at Zelia, caused him at the first ioyning of battell to flye, and hauing entred Bosphorus, he was slaine of Alexander the author of his inuasions. Whilest Cæsar was marching toward Vtica, M. Cato disdaining to receiue life at the hands of Cæsar, and greatly perplexed in mind that a man so rebelliously bent should haue so prosperous fortune, did with violent hands determine his daies. Cæsar hauing taken Vtica as he was returning to Rome, did encounter P. Scipio on the seas, who seeking by all warlike meanes to preferue the slender sparckle of his dying life, was at length slaine.

And

and Cæsar sayling from thence, enshored in Sardinia, and making no long tarrance in that place, came the five and twentieth day of that moneth, which beares his name at this day to the citie of Rome, where he was welcomed with such applause, such gratulation, with such melodie, with so rare banquets, and with so gorgious shewes, that Pompeis death was not bewailed with halfe so many teares, as he was entertained with ioyes, and for the sealing of their good affection towards him, they did grant to him by a fourefold triumph to enlarge his fame. A triumph was a most excellent honour, which the captaine who by battell had ouercome his enemies, returning with his armie into the citie did at the first enjoy by the decree of the Senate, and afterward by the consent of the people. It was called a triumph, because the souldiers did crye along the streete as they went to the Capitoll, Io triumph. Surely the Romanes did greatly aduanrage themselues by the vsing of these triumphes, for by them men were animated to warlike exploits. But many thinke a common weale then onely to flourish, whē

What thing
a triumph
was amongst
the Romans
& how performed.

Cæsar addressed
against Pharnaces.

Cæsar put
teth Pharnaces
to flight.

M. Cato killed
himselfe.

Cæsar encountered
P. Scipio.

it hath peace and plentie; but being moued with the present face of things, and not forecasting the sequel, they slip into error, and foster in their minds fond opinions, for plentie breedeth securitie; securitie warre, warre desolation. The state of a countrey is then to be rearm'd prosperous; when it is thoroughly furnished with men able and sufficient to repulse forreine forces, with the prouentions of the earth, and other treasures of husbandrie. But how canst thou assure thy selfe of free and peaceable inioying of the riches of thy countrey, the space of one moneth without militarie discipline? For all regions except those which are situate vnder the extremitie of the climates, are enuironed with the circumference of other nations, from which warre may arise as easily, as the winde bloweth from the foure quarters of the world; in which dangerous accident the first and last refuge of humane helpe is the soldiers arme. Doubtlesse the Romanes were exquisite in all heroicall desert; but in their bounrie and beneficence to souldiers incomparably excellent: for they knew, that the prouinces and llands adjacent could

could not be wonne by home-sitting; or by a treatie of words: but they must gird their armour, confront their enemies, and exchange bloud for bloud; and when these countreyes were conquered, & they had tasted the sweet of the vintage, which the souldiers had gathered, they did not reward them with sower grapes, neither powred they vineger into their wounds, but assigned vnto them pensionarie lands, for their maintenance, and making the franke allowance of ample rewards, encouraged them with crownes of glorie, triumphs, honors and dignities, so that victorie flourished there where armes were fauoured. Surely Princes & potentates ought with tender indulgence to respect the infatigable paines of the souldier, lest he murmur and say when he goeth to the fight, I shall either be ouercome, or slaine: and so be wholly subiect to the will and disposall of mine enemy, or else be partaker of the victorie, and returne into my country, as into a pitched field, where I shall fight with penurie, contempt and vnthankfulnesse, the last of which being either in the enemies chaines, or in the number of

his dead men, I should neuer haue felt. But if the souldiers industrie be not quickened and stirred vp by bountie and reward, he hath no more will to performe any part of martial seruice, then a dead carse hath power to arise out of the graue. For what can be more precious to a man then his bloud, being the fountaine and nurse of his vitall spirits, and the ground of his bodily substance, which no free and ingenuous nature will loose or hazard for nothing. And in truth there is great ods in the euent, for the souldier may either be slaine and so die without receiuing of his salarie, or else be wounded and die vnder the cure, and so receiue his stipend to the halfe part. This account being thus cast, it falleth out that the souldier looseth all or some part, & the Prince who is his pay-maister, saueth either all or some part. And whosoeuer shall argument or discourse vpon sound reason, and infallible experience, may easily proue and conuince, that these commō weales haue most prospered, which haue liberally maintained and had in singular regard militarie artes. The mentioning of Cæsars triumph hath occasioned

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me to vse this digression. This word Triumphus is deriued of the Greeke name of Bacchus *Δρυαῖκος*, who hauing subdued India, was the first inuenter of this honor. Of triumphs there were two sorts obserued of the Romans, one the graund triumph, which by præheminnence was called Triumphus, the other was the pettiertriumph, and was commonly called Ouatio, of these triumphs some were done on land, some on sea, some in the citie, some on mount Albane. It was therefore called Ouatio, because the victoriare souldiers returning from the fight did showte, and double the letter O. An Ouation did much differ frō a triumph, because he which came into the citie by way of Ouation, was neither caried in chariot, nor cladde with robe triumphall, nor with any ornament of estate, neither did his armie march before him when he was entred the citie, neither was he crowned with laurel, nor brought in with sound of trumpets, but walked through the citie on foot, his head being adorned with a mirtle crowne, his souldiers following him, and the shawmes onely sounding. How the great triumph was cele-

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brated, may be perceiued by this of Cæsars which was thus performed.

Cæsar his
triumphs
described.

Caius Cæsar sitting in a rich and sumptuous chariot, bordred round about with the crownes of Princes, his vpper garment being of purpled tissue, and bespanged with lines of gold, his victorious armie marching before him garnished with the spoiles of Europa and Affrick, his captiues being boūd with chaines, which were tied to his chariots taile, did represent a wonderfull maiestie to the gazing people: the trumpets and the clarions did sound on each side. His first triumph displaied with a most radiant standerd, the spoiles and conquests which he had in Fraunce: the images of Rhodanus and Rhene were wrought in siluer, the streames were curiously deciphered, and the waues did seeme to rise with a naturall and reall flowing. In the second triumph stood the citie of Alexandria, and after it the armes of vanquished Ptolome were blazed, the riuer of Nilus was painted with a faire celestiall blew: the azured waues being compacted of costly glasse. In the third triumph was a maske of Ponticke mourners, & the

Cæsars first
triumph.

Cæsars second
triumph.

Cæsars third
triumph.

the coarſe of Pharnaces was then caried in triumph: vpō the top of the coffin stood a triple plume, on the one part of which was written VENI, on the other VIDI, on the third VICI. In the fourth triumph Affrike went as captiue, and the person of Iuba king of Mauritania, his armes pictured as hauing manacles of them was then also resembled. For his victorie at Pharsalia there was no triumph, because Pompey was a Romane. VVhen Rome with smiling countenance had beheld these shewes, Cæsar accompanied with the Romane nobilitie entred the Capitolle, and there with spiced fires and fragrant odours did sacrifice to Iupiter. After his thanks, vowes, and prayers perſourmed, he returned with the great applause and admiration of men, and amiddest other ſolemnnities, Crispus Saluſtius did greet him with this Oration.

Cæsars
fourth tri-
umph.

I know that it is a difficult and hard matter to giue counsell to a king, or Emperour, or to any man that is highly aduanced, because they haue store of counsellors, & there is none so wise and warie, who can giue certaine aduise of that which is to come. Againe, bad

Saluſtes
oration to
Cæsar.

"counsellors are manie times better liked then
 "good, because fortune dallieth in things, and
 "fancy in men according to their pleasure. But
 "I had a great minde in my youth, to handle
 "matters of state, and in knowing of them I be-
 "stowed great labour and trauell, not to this
 "end onely, that I might obtaine some place of
 "dignitie in the common-weale, which manie
 "by euill artes and vnlawfull meanes haue co-
 "passed, but that I might also fully know the
 "estate of the common-weale, as well in peace
 "as in warre, and how much by munition, by
 "men, and by monie it could do. Therefore
 "tossing many things in my mind this was my
 "resolution, to praeferre thy dignitie Cæsar be-
 "fore mine owne fame, and modestie, and to
 "put any thing in practise so I might procure
 "glorie to thee. And this I did not rashly or to
 "flatter thee, but because in thee amongst the
 "rest, I find one skill very maruellous, that thy
 "mind hath bene greater in aduersitie, then in
 "prosperitie. But with others it is a matter of
 "more accompt and reckening, that men be
 "sooner wearie with praising thy valor, then
 "thy self art wearied with doing things worthe

of

of praise. Surely I hold it for a rule, that no-
 thing can be fet from the depth of inuention,
 which is not readie to thy thought. And if
 this purpose should onely raigne in thy brest,
 to deliuer thy selfe from the furie of enimies,
 and how thou maiest retaine the fauour and
 good liking of the people, thou should do a
 thing vnworthie of thy vertue. But if that
 mind be as yet resident in thee, which from
 the beginning disturbed the faction of sediti-
 ous men, which brought the Romanes from
 the heauie yoke of seruitude vnto libertie,
 which without weapons did confound the ar-
 mies of thine enemies, whereof haue ensued,
 so many and so glorious actes both at home,
 and abroad, that thy foes cannot complaine
 of any thing but of thine excellencie, then re-
 ceive from me such things, as of the summe
 or state of the common-weale I shall deliuer:
 which doubtlesse thou shalt either find to be
 true, or else certainly not farre from the truth.
 There is no man brought vp in a free estate,
 who doth willingly yeeld superioritie to ano-
 ther, and though the mightier man be by na-
 ture of a good and mild disposition, yet be-

" cause when he will he may be wicked and in-
 " iurious, he is therefore feared: which hapneth
 " because many great men are peruersly min-
 " ded, and thinke themselves so much the safer,
 " by how much more they do permit other mē
 " ouer whom they rule, to be wicked & vniust.
 " But surely a contrarie course should be taken,
 " when the Prince is good himselfe, to labour
 " and indeuour likewise to make the people
 " good. For euery bad fellow doth most vnwil-
 " lingly beare a gouernour, but this to thee
 " Cæsar is of greater difficultie, then to others
 " who haue ruled before thee: thy warre hath
 " bene more mild then the peace of other mē:
 " besides they which did ouercome, do de-
 " maund the spoile, they which are ouercome
 " are their fellow citizens. Through these diffi-
 " culties must thou passe. And strengthen the
 " common weale for succeeding posteritie, not
 " by weapons, nor as against enemies, but
 " which is farre greater and more difficult, by
 " peaceable meanes. Therefore to this point
 " the state of things doth call euery man either
 " of great or of meane wisdome, to vter as
 " much good as he can concerning this matter.

For

For mine owne part this I thinke, that as by
 thee the victorie shall be qualified and orde-
 red, so shall all things follow. Thou diddest
 wage battell noble Cæsar with an excellent
 man, of great power, and desirous of glorie, a
 man of greater fortune then wisdome, fol-
 lowed by some few, enemies both to thee &
 to themselves, such as either affinitie did draw
 vnto him, or some other bond of dutie: for
 none of them was partaker of his dominatiō,
 which he could not tollerate. For if he could
 haue brooked an equall, the world had not
 bene set on fire with warre: but because thou
 art desirous to establish peace, and vpon this
 anuill thou and thy friends do continually
 beate, consider I pray thee of what nature the
 thing is whereof you consult. Certainly I haue
 this conceit, that because all things which
 haue beginning must haue end, when the fate
 and determined lot of destruction shall fall
 vpon this citie, that our citizens will contend
 and make warre against their fellow citizens,
 and so being wearied and consumed will be-
 come a pray to some forraigne king or nati-
 on: otherwise, not the whole world, nor all

Pompey
 could not
 brooke an
 equall.

Y

"the people vnder the arch of the heauens be-
 "ing mustred or assembled together, shall be
 "able to shake or crush this flourishing com-
 "mon-weale. Therefore the good effects of
 "concord are to be maintained, and the euils
 "of discord to be banished and driuen away:
 "that may easily come to passe, if thou abridge
 "the licence of riotous spending, and iniurious
 "extorting, because young gentlemen in these
 "times are inured to such a fashon, that they
 "thinke it a glorious matter vainly to mispend
 "their owne goods and the goods of other mē,
 "denying nothing to their owne lust, nor to
 "the shamelesse request of their leud compa-
 "nions: and their restless mind hauing entred
 "into a crooked way, and dissolute course, whē
 "their maintenance faileth them, and wonted
 "supplies are wanting, do conceiue a burning
 "indignation against their fellow citizens, and
 "turne all things out of course. In that commō-
 "weale all things are well ordered, where offi-
 "ces and dignities are not sold, and where am-
 "bition enioyeth not the rewards of vertue:
 "this and all other euils shall cease when mony
 "shall cease to be honoured, where riches are
 precious,

precious, there all good things are vile: faith,
 honestie, modestie, chastitie, because there is
 but one way to vertue, and that is hard and
 rough, but to mony there be many smooth
 waies: it is gained as well by euill as by good
 meanes. Couetousnesse is a sauage and deu-
 ouring beast, immane, & intollerable: which
 way so euer it wendeth, it wasteth, & destroy-
 eth townes, fields, temples and houses: it min-
 gleth holy and humane things together: nei-
 ther armes nor wals can stop the course of it.
 It spoileth and bereaueth men of fame, chil-
 dren, countrie and parents: but if thou debase
 the high accompt of monie, the force of co-
 uetousnesse by good manners will be abated.
 I haue by reading found, that all kingdomes,
 cities, and nations haue so long enioyed a
 prosperous estate, whilst true aduise did pre-
 uaile in them: but whensoever fauour, feare,
 or pleasure was the sterne or motiue of their
 counsels, then their wealth was first diminish-
 ed, next their dominion abridged, and lastly,
 their libertie impeached. VVherefore I be-
 seech and exhort thee renowned Cæsar, that
 thou wouldest not suffer such a goodly domi-

"nion as this to be tainted with rust, or by dis-
 "cord rent in peeces. If that thing happen,
 "neither night nor day will appease the storms
 "of thy mind, but by dreames being rowzed
 "from thy bed, thou shalt be chased and pur-
 "sued with continuall cares. I haue dispatched
 "in few such things as I accompted honorable
 "for thee Cæsar, and necessarie for this com-
 "mon-weale. The most part of men to iudge
 "of others, haue sufficient conceit; at least in
 "their owne conceit, and to reprocue an other
 "mans deeds or words, euery mans mind doth
 "burne with desire. They thinke their throat
 "is not wide enough, nor their tounge glib e-
 "nough to poure out of their breasts their ma-
 "licious exceptions, to whose censure that I am
 "subiect, doth so little shame me, that it would
 "haue grieved me to haue bene silent: for,
 "whether it shall please thee to follow this
 "course or some better, I shall not be moued:
 "sith I haue spoken as much as my barrenesse
 "could bring foorth. It remaineth for me and
 "for vs all to wish, that such things as thou shalt
 "in wisdom effect, the gods would prosper.

Cæsar afterward to match his foure triumphs,

was

was made the fourth time Consul: his statue
 also was placed amongst the statues of the
 auncient kings; in the Senat.house there was
 a throne of iuorie made for him: in the thea-
 ter his roomie was such, as it contained plea-
 sure, pompe, and cost: his image was exquisi-
 tely painted in the Orchester, a place where-
 in the Romaine gentlemen did vse to daunce
 and vau: the moneth of Iuly was then also
 cōsecrated to Iulius, as the moneth of March
 is to Mars. Cæsar did not rest in these honors,
 but thought still to propagate his fame by
 warlike exploits. VWherefore hearing that
 Pōpeis sons did raise great tumults & vprores
 in Spaine, he made great hast thitherward, &
 at the towne of Siuill opposed himselfe to Cn.

Pompeius one of the sonnes of Pompey the
 Great, who was constrained to flye, but La-
 bienus met him at vnawares, and hauing
 slaine him, brought his head to Cæsar.

Sex. Pompeius his brother esca-
 ped by flight.

The great
 honors be-
 stowed vpon
 Cæsar.

Cæsar fight-
 eth with
 Cn. Pōpeius
 the younger
 at the citie
 of Siuill.



ATROPOS,

Or the third Booke.

The Romans
bestow many
honors vpon
Cæsar.



He warre in Spaine being quickly dispatched, Cæsar returned to Rome: and the Romanes did redouble his honours, for he was presently made Dictator perpetuall, Censor perpetuall, Consul for ten yeares, and Emperour of Rome: he was called also the father of his countrie. But Cæsars fortunes did soone after begin to decline, and these diuerse coloured titles were but as reinebowes, which do glitter gallantly for a time, but are suddenly extinct: his fatall houre was now approaching, and enuie stayed in the cloudes expecting his end. But as a mightie and huge oake, being clad with the exuuias and trophes of enemies, fenced with an armie of boughs, garnished with a coate of barke as hard as Steele, despiseth the force and power of the windes,

as

as being onely able to dallie with the leaues, and not to weaken the roote; but the Northerne wind that strong champion of the airie region, secretly lurking in the vault of some hollow cloud, doth first murmur at this aspiring oake, and then doth strike his crest with some greater strength; and lastly with the deepest breath of his lungs doth blow vp the roote. So vndoubtedly was it with Cæsar, who disdained feare, and thought it a great deale better to die then to thinke on misfortune: but destinie is no mans drudge, and death is euery mans conqueror, matching the scepter with the spade, and the crowned king with the praislesse peasant. As none was more noble then Cæsar, so nothing was more notable, then the death of Cæsar: for his dearest friends became his greatest enemies, and their hands plucked him downe, whose shoulders did lift him vp. Many causes were pretended of the conspiracie bent against him, the honours which were bestowed vpon him, being both manie and great, did cause him to be enuied of the Nobles: and likewise it was a matter of cauill, because sitting before temple of Venus

The causes
of the con-
spiracie bent
against Cæ-
sar.

genitrix the Senate comming to him to consult with him of great affaires, he did sit and welcome them, and did not rise vnto them: another occasion of quarell was, because M. Antonius would haue set a Diademe vpon his head: the fourth cause was, because he deprivied Epidius, Metellus, and Cæsius Flavius of the Tribuneship: fiftly it was greatly murmured, because it was constantly reported, that L. Cotta Quindecomuir that is a cõtēplatiue reader of Sybillaes prophecies, would pronounce sentence, that because it was contained in the prophecies of Sybilla, that the Parthians could not be ouercome but by a king, therefore Cæsar should be highted the king of Rome. For these causes a conspiracie being raised against him, in which the chiefe agents of the Pompeians, were M. Brutus and C. Cassius, and of the Cæsarians D. Brutus and C. Trebonius, in the Ides of March, and in the Senate-house, which was called Pompeyes court, he was pierced with three and twentie wounds, which because they were many, and most of them were in the belly, and about the midrise, Cæsar as ashamed of such wounds, did

Cæsar is
slaine in the
Senar-house

did let downe his robe from his shoulders to couer them, and fell as a sacrifice vnder the statue of Cn. Pompeius Magnus. M. Antonius and other friends of Cæsar, were spared by the aduise of M. Brutus, lest they might seeme rather to be authors of a faction, then of Cæsars death. After this bloudie exploit, they by whō he was slaine, held the Capitolle. I cannot giue Brutus praise for this, but I rather thinke that he deserueth dispraise: for had the cause of quailing him bene iust, yet the course & manner of killing him, doth apparantly seeme vnlawfull: for by that act the law Portia was broken, by which it was provided, that it should not be lawfull for anie to put to death anie citizen of Rome indicta causa. The law Cornelia de maiestate was also violated, by which it was made high treason, for any man to take anie aduise, or make anie conspiracie, whereby a Romane Magistrate, or he which had a soueraigne power, without iudiciall proces might suffer death. And that ancient law was also despised, by which it was forbidden, that no Senator should enter into the Senate-house armed with any warlike weapō, or hauing about

M. Antonius
is spared at
the time whē
Cæsar is
slaine.

The law Portia
broken by
the killing of
Cæsar.

The law Cornelia
broken
by the killing
of Cæsar.

him anie edged toole. Surely they that will end tumult with tumult, can neuer be seized of good successe or fortunate euēt: for discord may breed, continue & augment contention, but it can neuer end it: and to expect that all differences should be calmly compounded by generall accord, is a thing not much to be hoped for, because it seldome happeneth. M. Brutus, the chiefe actor in Cæsars tragedie, was in counsell deepe, in wit profound, in plot politicke, and one that hated the principality whereof he deuasted Cæsar. But did Brutus looke for peace by bloudshed? did he thinke to auoyd tyrannie by tumult? was there no way to wound Cæsar, but by stabbing his own conscience? & no way to make Cæsar odious, but by incurring the same obloquie? VVill anie man speake vnto me of the wisdom of Brutus, when he thinketh vpon the field of Philippi, wherein Brutus was like to the Comet, who feeding vpon vapours & vaine opinions, at length consumed and confounded himselfe: and thus were the two Bruti, I meane the first and the last, famous men of that honourable name, both fatall to the estate of the Romane Common-

Common-weale: for the former of them did expell the last king of the Romanes, and the later did murder their first Emperour. But if Cæsars death had bene attended, till naturall dissolution, or iust proceeding had caused it, his nephews entrie into the monarchie might well haue bene barred and intercepted: because these honors were annexed and appropriated to Cæsars person. And if patience might haue managed their wisdoms, though there had bene a Cæsar, yet should there neuer haue bene an Augustus. But by bloudshed to seeke for peace, is by oyle to quench fire. VVhen any innouation or alteration is to be hatched, the state of things must be quiet and secure, that the wheele may be easily turned about, without hearing any noise. For to commit the murder of a soueraigne Magistrate, & to defend thy selfe by armes, is as if a man should couer himselfe by water from a shoure of raine, or should descend into some hollow of the earth for auoiding of infectious aire: & if the most barbarous and immaine tyrant, should trecherously, that is without warrant of iustice be slaughtered, though at his death he

were vterly destitute of friends, yet his enemies should be sure to finde enemies: for no cōmon weale can be without men of aspiring humours, and when such a murder is wrought they find present occasiō to tumultuate, knowing that Anarchie breedeth confusion, & that it is best fishing in a troubled streame: making a glorious pretence to reuenge the death of a Prince, though in heart & in truth, they beare greater affectiō to the monarchie remaining, then to the Monarke who is taken away: neither in regard of supreme power and præeminence, will I put diuersitie betweene the person of a king and a tyrant; for he which attaineth to an imperiall or regall soueraigntie, by warlike industrie and victorious exploit, is no lesse a Monarke, then he which cometh to it by election, succession or descent: & he that is made subiect by sword, is as much subiect as he that by birth is a denison. But was Iulius Cæsar a tyrant? Surely there was more tyrannie in the slaughter then in the man slaine: Cæsar I graunt was a traitour to the State before the victorie, but after he exchanged that base name, with the best title of dignitie, and of a

traitour

traitour became an Emperour: yet did he not aggrauate to himselfe that type of honor, the people offered it vnto him, he accepted it with thanks: manie had offended him, he pardoned them, yea rewarded them with great bou-tie. He was content to haue a fellow Consull, he suspected none of them which were the workmen of his death, he did neither depreffe the Noble man by flaunder, nor aduance them of obscure condition by flatterie and bribes: & which is incōpatible to tyrannie, he shewed self-will in nothing, when he was inuested with supremacie; but questionlesse the Romanes should not haue nourished this lyon in their Citie, or being nourished, they should not haue disgraced him. The goared body of Cæsar was honourably transported to Campus Martius. Afterward M. Cicero because he was desirous to restore peace, and to reconcile the states, procured a decree to be made after the example of the Athenians, which they called their Amnestia, that the killing of Cæsar should be forgotten & forgiuen, and this was ratified by Senate. But the conspirors would not in anywise lay aside their armour, vnlesse they

Cæsar his bodie is transported to Campus Martius.

might haue certaine assurance and securitie that their persons, lands, and goods should be safe and vntouched. VVherefore for pledges they had the sonnes of M. Antonius, & M. Lepidus, and then they descended out of the Capitolle. C. Octavius hearing of the great change that had happened in Rome, came as some say from Epirus, as others from Apollonia, to whom I rather agree: but he was welcome to all sides and sectes. And by the testament of his vncle, who had adopted him to be his heire, he tooke the name of Iulius Cæsar. M. Lepidus was at that time made Pontifex-maximus in Cæsars place. The Senate did assigne the prouince of Syria to Dolabella, and Macedonia to Antonius: but afterward when M. Antonius did shew himself too imperious, and would haue resigned his charge in Macedonia, and haue bene Præsident of France, he suffered a repulse of the Senate, wherupon he appealed to the people, which did greatly incense the Senate against him, and Octavius was also grievously displeased with him, because crauing his assistance against the enemies of his vncle, he was in grosse & odious termes abused

The Senate
incensed a-
gainst M. An-
tonius.

Octavius be-
commeth an
enemie to
Antonius.

abused of: Antonius: Octavius therefore by the assent of the Senate, being accompanied with his vncles veteranes, prepared warre against him. D. Brutus to whom the prouince of France was committed by Cæsar, and after his death confirmed to him by the Senate, that he might resist Antonius, who was then making toward Fraunce, came with an armie to Mutina, and there suffered him selfe to be besieged. The Senat did afterward send messengers to Antonius, to treat with him of peace, which were L. Piso, L. Philippus, and Seruius Sulpitius. But when they returned without concluding any thing, warre was proclaimed, and Hirtius being Consul went against him, Octavius as Proprætor, Pansa the other Consul followed them within a few dayes after. Cæsar and Hirtius hauing brought Bononia into their power, did pitch their tents neare to Antonius, who leauing a sufficient armie to beate them from the wals of the towne wherein his forces were, did priuily and closely go from thence to meete with Pansa, as he was coming to Bononia, with whom he entred battell, and had a prosperous victorie, but as he was retur-

D. Brutus suf-
fereth him
selfe to be be-
sieged by An-
tonius.

M. Antonius
sighteth with
Pansa.

Hirtius fight
with
Antonius.

ning to his tents, Hirtius opposed himselfe in the way, and curtailed his victorie, doing vnto him as great a damage as he did to Panfa: for which cause both the Consuls and Cæsar, were called as well of the Senate as of the soldiers Emperors, although Panfa had but bad successe, and Cæsar did not fight at all. But shortly after there was a great battell fought betwixt these three and Antonius, in which battell Antonius being constrained both to leaue his tents and armie, fled into France to Lepidus Proconsul. Hirtius after the victorie being sore wounded, died sodainly in his enemies tents. Panfa not long after died of a wound also at Bononia. Brutus and Mutina being deliuered from siege, only Cæsar escaped safe, and enioyed a most glorious victorie. The father of Cæsar was C. Octavius a prætorian, and Atia was the daughter of M. Atius Balbus, and Iulia the sister of Iulius Cæsar, and being adopted of C. Cæsar, and made his onely heire, he was called C. Iulius Cæsar Octavianus. After these warres he became an enemy to the Senate, because they had afforded a triumph vnto D. Brutus, and had

made

made him Generall in the warre against Antonius, who stood onely vpon the walles and doing nothing, did onely behold the fight, passing by Octavius vnregarded, who had deliuered the Common-weale from danger; alleaging that it was but a sconce and colour to bestow vpon him Consul robes & to make him Prætor ten yeares before his time, which was to bestow the kernell vpon others & the shell vpon him. And to trie them further he sent to the Senate, to request them, that he might be made Consul in the place of one of them which were slaine: & because he could not obtaine it by petition, he determined to purchase it by warre. Therefore reconciling himselfe to M. Antonius and M. Lepidus, he led a great armie against the Citie, and sent messengers to the Senate in the name of his Captaines & souldiers to demaund the Consulship of them: who when they had moued the matter to the Senate, and the Senate was in a great doubt what to do, Cornelius a Cæturion that was the principall messenger, laying his hand vpon the hilt of his sword, in great boldnesse said vnto the, this shall do it, if you

A a

Octavius his
request to
the Senate.

Octavius re-
concileth him
selfe to M. An-
tonius and
M. Lepidus.

The two Con-
suls & Octa-
uius fight a-
gainst Anto-
nius.

Octavius be-
cometh an
emie to
Antonius.

will not do it. The Pompeians were in truth wedded to too much partialitie, for why had Brutus the glorie of triumph, vnlesse it were because his life was saued by other mens valour? And why were the bodies of Pansa and Hirtius solemnely and honorably enterred, and Cæsar who was liuing, & partaker of the victorie nothing regarded? Nay they did apparantly despise him. For, sending messengers they enioined them to parle with his soldiers and leaue Octavius vnspoken to: but they did with great choler answer, that they would not heare anie thing vnlesse their Generall were present. This peruerse and preposterous dealing made Octavius to enter the City in warlike maner, and as an enemy vnto them, and there he made himselfe Consul, & Q. Pedius his colleague. M. Cicero did then in publike assemblies greatly commend and extoll Octavius, but he spake one thing and meant another: for if dangers had bene once past, Ciceroes tongue would haue turned another way. VVise and circumspect he was to preuent a mischiefe, but timorous & fearefull to withstand it when it was befallen. Afterward

M. Cicero
doth greatly
commend
Octavius.

ward affinitie was contracted betwixt Antonius and Cæsar, for Cæsar tooke to wife Clodia the step-daughter of Antonius. He was Consul before he was of the age of twentie yeares, and in that Consulship held nothing in so curious charge, as to take reuenge vpon the enemies of his adoptiue father: whertore he requested Q. Pedius his colleague to enquire of them by whose conspiracie he was slaine, and thereupon M. Brutus, C. Cassius & D. Brutus being absent were condemned. D. Brutus to whom the Senate had committed the dealing with Antonius, being forsaken of his armie fled to Aquileia & was there slaine. But the estate of the Common-weale at that time shall appeare by an Epistle of M. Brutus written to C. Cassius, which I haue here set downe: whereby a man may learne how to moderate and demeane him self in common calamities, whē iustice is turned out of course and the lawes are silent. It was to this effect. M. Brutus to C. Cassius sendeth commendations; according to couenant & promise my Cassius, I write vnto thee such news as I haue receiued from Rome. Octavius as I heare,

Cæsar taketh
Clodia to
wife.

D Brutus is
slaine.

"hath married himselfe to the daughter of Ful-
 "uia the wife of Antonius, for which mariage,
 "I am neither verie glad, nor greatly sorie: ma-
 "nie vse such mariages as pledges ofreconci-
 "liation, and thinke them of sufficient force to
 "change hatred into loue, but are greatly de-
 "ceiued. For it is one thing to make alliance,
 "and another to make amity, sith they proceed
 "from seuerall causes, and hauing a different
 "course, must needes produce diuerse effects,
 "for alliãce groweth, by bringing one kindred
 "to the marches of another; but friendship ei-
 "ther by long conuersing together, or by a
 "grounded opinion of good desert, or by like-
 "nesse of qualities where there is no inequality
 "of estate: and he that seeketh friendship out
 "of these præcincts, will neuer find it. Therefore
 "by such mariage enmitie will not fully cease,
 "nor friendship firmly be setteled: for it is
 "rather a meane betwixt these two extremes,
 "then either a mother to the one, or a step-
 "dame to the other. I receiued letters lately
 "from M. Antonius, directed to vs (whereof I
 "haue sent you here inclosed a copie) verie
 "contumelious, minatorie, and not worthie to

Antonius
 writeth co-
 tumelious
 letters to
 Brutus &
 Cassius.

be

be sent from him, to vs: but his threatnings I
 do not much regard. For amongst free men
 the authoritie of him that threatneth, is no
 more, then the law wil permit: for mine owne
 part I could wish that he were great in the
 Common-weale, so he were honest. I will not
 prouoke him to enmitie, but will alway præ-
 ferre the libertie of my countrey, before his
 friendship: he objecteth to vs often the death
 of Cæsar, but he should consider how small
 a time Cæsar raigned, not how litle while he
 liued. And Octāuius forsooth digesting at
 length, the hollow conditions of his father in
 law, seemeth greatly to stomake that we boſt
 so much of the Ides of March, when notwith-
 standing only one man was slaine: yet not so
 much as he vanteth of the Nones of Decem-
 ber, at which time he slaughtered more then
 one. Cicero once thought that the Commõ-
 weale as a naked orphan should be prote-
 cted by armes, but now he præferreth an vn-
 iust peace before a iust warre: wherein he
 sheweth how vniust he is: he is fortunes page,
 and fauoureth them most who haue most fa-
 uourers. A wise man, though by oportunitie

Aa 3

" he do alter his pace, yet still keepeth his way,
 " serueth time for aduantage not for feare, and
 " as the sunne setteth to rise againe, so he chan-
 " geth his course to continue his purpose: but
 " to an vnconstant man euerie accident is a cō-
 " stellation, by which he is diuersified and dri-
 " uen from the center of his thoughts. Though
 " Octavius call Cicero father, vse him kindly,
 " praise him, thanke him, yet it wil appeare that
 " his words are contrarie to his meaning: for
 " what is more auerse from common sense, the
 " to call him father whom he will not suffer to
 " be free? By these lineamēts I haue shadowed
 " vnto thee my Cassius the ficklenesse and lu-
 " bricitie of Ciceroes variable mind, which as
 " it is not certaine to himselfe, so it is not safe to
 " vs: let him liue as he doth adulatoriously and
 " abiectly: to me which am opposed to the
 " thing it selfe, that is, to a kingly regiment, ex-
 " traordinarie rule, domination and superiori-
 " tie which would extol it selfe aboue the lawes,
 " no subiection can be such as that I may brook
 " it. There can be no valiāt nor free mind with-
 " out constancie, neither can any thing be glo-
 " rious without the iudgement of reason. In the
 businesse

businesse of the common-weale I would haue
 nothing done, without the constitution and
 decree of the Senate and people, neither will
 I arrogantly preiudicate, or boldly retractate
 that which they shall hereafter do, or hereto-
 fore haue done, but I accompt it more conso-
 nant to the good estate of the cōmon-weale,
 rather with pitie to mollifie the miserable e-
 state of distressed persons, then by graunting
 euerie thing to the desire of the mightie, to
 inflame their lust and insolencie. Surely the
 Senatours are many times deceiued in their
 hope, and if a man haue done one thing wel,
 they presently yeeld and permit all things
 vnto him, as though a minde corrupted by
 their largesse, and liberall offers, might not
 be traduced and caried away to euill purpo-
 ses and attempts: but they may not bestow
 any thing which to men euill disposed may
 be either a præsidēt or a protection, and I
 am afraid that Octavius by his late Consul-
 ship, do thinke him selfe to haue ascended
 higher, then that he will descend: for if An-
 tonius by the death of Iulius Cēsar tooke pre-
 sent occasion of tyrannising, how much more

" will Octavius vsurpe, when both Senate and
 " people do applaud to his affection. Neither
 " will I commend the facilitie and prouidence
 " of the Senate in this behalfe, before I haue ful
 " experience, that Octavius will content him-
 " selfe, with the ordinarie honors that he hath
 " receiued: but if it otherwise happen, I must
 " needes pronounce the Senate guiltie of the
 " fault, which they might well haue præuented.
 " Yet if this yong man do lay aside sinister and
 " affectionous humours, and imbarke himselfe in
 " to the cōmon cause with impartiall thoughts,
 " I shall then thinke that the Common-weale
 " will be able to support it selfe, by her owne
 " strength and sinewes, that is iustice and inte-
 " gritie; and that thenceforth, no offence, shall
 " either be cruelly reuenged, or dissolutely re-
 " mitted. Of our future affaires this is my de-
 " terminate resolution, so it may obtaine thy
 " approbation; if things happen to be in better
 " plight we will returne to Rome, if the estate
 " be as now it is, we will liue as now we do, in
 " voluntarie exile: if it decline frō bad to worse,
 " we must flie to armes as our last and worst re-
 " fuge, wherefore Cassius do not faint, nor
 dispaire,

dispaire, let the hope of good things encou-
 rage thee, vertue onely is confident. From
 Smyrna 17. Kalend. April,

Cæsar when by no meane he could be re-
 uenged of Brutus, who was Præsident of Ma-
 cedonia, and Cassius who had the regiment
 of Syria, he sent for M. Antonius and M. Lepi-
 dus who were then in France, and they three
 meeting at Bononia, had conference of orde-
 ring and disposing the common affaires, and
 there they agreed to be Treuiri, for the con-
 stitution of the common-weale for five years
 space. To the charge of Lepidus Spaine and
 Gallia Narbonensis were allotted, to M. An-
 tonius the other parts of Fraunce, to Cæsar
 Libia, Sicilia, and Sardinia. After these con-
 sultations they came to Rome, and assigned
 offices to whom it pleased them, asking no
 leaue either of people or Senate. At that time
 many excellent Lords and Gentlemen were
 proscribed, together with an hundred and
 thirtie Senators, among whom was L. Paulus
 the brother of M. Lepidus, L. Cæsar the vnclē
 of Antonius, and he who did so much praise
 Octavius M. Cicero. But that was done by

Cicero is put
 to death.

Fulviaes de-
spiteful dea-
ling with Ci-
ceros tong.

the venomous rancor of Antonius; by whose meanes he was beheaded, and the head was serued in mease vnto him, which when Fulvia the impudent wife of Antonius had espied, plucking and renting from the chaps his golden tongue, she distained it with the spittle & some of her mouth, she pricked it with needles, launced it with her nailes, brayed it with her fist, racked it with her armes, and stamped it with her secte. Foolish and senslesse anger, to inflict reuenge vpon a thing that was senslesse, and for the misliking of the man, to hate the dead part of his body. But thou didst nothing Antonius (for the indignation of posteritie will rise against thee) thou didst nothing by taking away the publike voice of the City and that all-pleasing tongue. Thou hast spoiled Cicero of a poore remnant of dayes, thou hast pared away his old age, thou hast caused him to be slaine, when he wished for death, but his fame and the glorie of his vertues and excellent learning, thou art so farre from abridging, that thou hast augmented it: he liueth and shall liue by the memorie of all ages, and whilst the frame of this world shall stand,

stand, and this bodie of nature shal continue, which that onely Romane did in minde contemplate, by wit vnderstand, & by eloquence describe, the commendation of Cicero shall alway accompanie it, the succeding wits shall wonder at his writings, & euery mans doome shall condemne thy cruelty. But the miserie of these times none can sufficiently deplore, so vnpossible it is to expresse it by words. But this is to be nored, that the care of wiues toward their husbands, that were proscribed, was maruellous, & in the highest degree: the fidelitie of their free-men but indifferent, the loyaltie of their bond-men very slender, the loue of their children none at all, so grisly and loathsome is aduersity to a mans owne bowels. Cassius hearing of the great tumults of Rome, went from Syria to Smyrna in Asia, where M. Brutus was, to take aduise of the ordering of the battel against M. Antonius, & C. Octavius, who they heard did make expedition against them. VVherefore Cassius hauing ouercome the Rhodians, and Ariobarzanes, and Brutus hauing subdued the Parareans, the Lycians, and other nations of Asia,

which did before moleſt them, they haſted to Macedonia that they might there wage battell. And thither not long after came Cæſar, and M. Antonius with a huge hoſt, and before the citie of Philippi they faced their enemies with the tents. That fight was verie fierce and very doubtful, for Brutus put Cæſar to flight, and Antonius Caſſius, and each of their tents was ranſacked of the victor. C. Caſſius when Brutus, who he feared was ſlaine, returned a farre off, with his horſemen, thinking that they were the enemies that purſued him, did worke his owne death by the hand of one of his retinue. VVithin a few dayes after M. Brutus being overcome in another battell, and overborne with deſpaire, enforced Strabo that fled with him to ſlay him with his ſword: which act, many noble Romanes to the number of fortie did imitate. There were neuer anie to whom fortune did ſooner approach, thē to Brutus and Caſſius: and neuer anie from whom ſhe did more ſuddenly flie: Caſſius was the better Captaine, Brutus the better Counſeller, Brutus was more to be loued, Caſſius to be feared, becauſe the one excelled

led in vertue, the other in valor. VVho if they had conquered in this fight, it would haue bene more expedient for the Romanes to haue bene ruled by Brutus then Caſſius, by how much it was more ſafe to them in the end to be gouerned by Octavius then Antonius. The yeare following there grew diſcord betwene Cæſar and L. Antonius Conſul, and Fulvia wife to M. Antonius. They were offended with Cæſar, becauſe he ſhared that part of Macedonia to his ſouldiers which M. Antonius ſhould haue had. Fulvia was the more earneſt againſt Octavius, becauſe he had conceiued a deep diſpleaſure againſt her daughter, and had thereupon diuorced her. Cæſar was likewise incenſed againſt Antonius, becauſe he would not ſend to him that ſupply of ſouldiers, which he ought to haue. Antonius therefore in his brothers quarell, maintained warre, Fulvia leagued vnto him held Præneste, and there ſhe behaued her ſelfe as the other Conſul, cōtemning P. Seruilius who was indeed Conſul, being like to a woman in nothing but onely in ſexe: L. Antonius with an hoſtile inuaſion entred the citie of Rome, the

Cæsar besie-
geth Perusia

The praise
of Asinius
Pollio.

armie of M. Lepidus, who was left there as warden of the Citie being discomfited; and afterward departing thence toward Fraunce, was intercepted by Cæsar, who besieged him a long time at Perusia, in the countrey of Etruria, and oftentimes making an eruption & suffering a repulse, he was constrained to submit him selfe, whom Cæsar pardoned, but many of the Senators and Romane Knights were sacrificed vpon the altar of Iulius Cæsar. He destroyed Perusia, and hauing brought into his power all the armie of the contrarie side ended that warre, Cn. Domitius Calpurnius, and C. Asinius Pollio being Consuls, Pollio was a man of notable gifts, who howsoever matters befell, was loued of all sortes of men. Iulius Cæsar did make great reckning and accompt of him, after his death the enemies of Cæsar did greatly fauour him, M. Antonius had him in singular æstimation, Octavius held him neare vnto his heart, an excellent scholer, and a worthie souldier the onely obiect of the learned, whom both in prose & poemes, they haue condignely commended, so that I need not to proceede in his praises, this

this is my only doubt, whether he were more to be extolled for his laudable qualities, then admired for his rare and wonderfull fortune; he was not long before with Antonius in Ægypt, but seeing him so vainely besotted with the loue of Cleopatra, seeing him knight of the Cannapee, who was earst Lord of the field, being ashamed of him as he was a Romane, ashamed of him as a General, ashamed of him as now an vnworthie companion for Pollio, he left him in Ægypt with his concubine, and came to Rome. Afterward Cæsar and Lepidus fell at variance, so that Lepidus was compelled to surrender all his authority, and to stand to Cæsars mercie for his life. Cæsar did then fight with Sex. Pompeius on the sea. Pompey being there ouercome fled to Sicilie, and afterward into Asia, and as he was preparing warre against Antoni, he was takē of M. Titius, Antonius his Lieutenant, by whom he was slaine. The last ciuill warre which was betwixt the Romaines was that which was fought by Cæsar against Antoni at Actium. The occasion of enmitie betwixt them was thus, Antonius did reprove Cæsar because

Octavius
Cæsar fighteth wth
Sex. Pompeius

he had taken to himself the armie of Lepidus & that which followed Sex. Pompeius, which ought to haue bene common to them three. Cæsar did obiekt to Antonius, that he did keepe Ægypt without lawfull commission; that he caused Sex. Pompeius to be slaine without his consent, that he cast Artuades a Prince, leagued with the Romans, and taken by trecherie, into prison, & dishonored him, with gyues and fetters, to the great infamie of the Romanes, that he was more familiar with Cleopatra then became an honest man, that he had bestowed too great giftes vpon her, that he had called Cæsars surmised bastard begotten of Cleopatra, Cæsarion, to the great disgrace of that house. These things priuately by letters and publikely by messengers, were mentioned by mutuall obiection. Cæsar afterward did reade Antonius his testament in the open Senate, which came to his hands by this meane. Certaine souldiers which did flie frō Antonius to him, told him that the authentike will or testament of M. Antonius, did remaine in the custodie of the Virgins vestall, of whom Cæsar did obtaine it,

Ostaius readeth the testament of M. Antonius.

it, the tenor and forme whereof was thus.

I M. Antonius one of the three states of Rome, and the sonne of M. Antonius, do by this my last will and testament make and ordaine Philadelphus & Alexander my sonnes by Cleopatra, the heires of all my wealth and substance, which I had by descent from M. Antonius my father; but with this clause, and vpon this condition, that if I die in Rome or elsewhere, they shall solemnely conuey my bodie to Alexandria in Ægypt, and bestow it there in a marble sepulcher, which by this my will shall be made for my selfe and Cleopatra the Queene of Ægypt. But if they faile of this or do otherwise, without lawfull or vrgent cause, then I will that all these things which I leaue vnto my aforesaid sons, be conuerted to the vse & behoofe of the Nuns of Vesta, & my ghost shal implore the assistāce of the Pōtifex-Maximus, & the priests of Iupiter which are in the Capitol, to solicit the spirits of vengeance to punish the vnthankfulnesse of my sons, & then I ordaine & wil, that the Pontifex Maximus shall cause my bodie to be reposed in a conuenient sepulcher, within the walles

The testament of M. Antonius.

of this citie, and I will also that as many bond-
 slaues as be now in my power, shall presently
 after my death be manumitted & made free
 by the Prætor; and to euerie of my other ser-
 uants I bequeath a Sestertian, & a mourning
 garment. Lastly, I do pronounce by this my
 last will and testament, that Cæsarion the son
 of Cleopatra, is the true, certaine, and vn-
 doubted sonne of C. Iulius Cæsar. And to the
 aforesaid Cleopatra, I giue all my wealth and
 treasure, that I haue gained, purchased and
 atchieued either in warre or in peace. Done
 by me M. Antonius vj. kal. lul. Ap. Claudius,
 C. Norbanus Coss.

VWhen the people of Rome had heard
 the purport of this testament, they thought
 that Antonius his drift, was to giue Rome to
 Cleopatra, for a speciall fauour, for which
 cause they were maruellously moued against
 Antonius. Cæsar did behaue him selfe in this
 matter very wisely and warily, for in wordes
 he prætended warre against Cleopatra only,
 and caused it to be proclaimed by the heralt,
 that the Egyptian Queene did intend the
 suppressing of the Romanes. That was done
 by

by Cæsar, to the end that he might auoyd the
 hatred of manie noble men; who did rather
 affect Antonius then him. But whē Antonius
 for the loue of Cleopatra wold neither come
 into the citie to render account of his doings,
 nor depose his Triumviracie, but was wholly
 busied in præparing warre against Italie, Cæ-
 sar did furnish himselfe as well for sea as for
 land: he therefore gathered manie souldiers
 out of Spaine, Fraunce, Lybia, Sardinia and
 Sicilia. Antonius likewise did make an armie
 of Asians, Thracians, Macedonians, Græciās,
 Egyptians and Cyrenians. And in the yeare
 following C. Cæsar and M. Messalla being
 Consuls, Antonius and Cleopatra at Actium
 a promontorie of Epirus, encountred Cæsar,
 who hauing prosperous successe in many bat-
 tels against them, as well on sea as on land,
 they being at length overcome fled to Alex-
 andria in Egypt. Cæsar did sacrifice all the
 pinasses which he had taken in warre, to A-
 pollo, who was worshipped at Actium, as a
 monument of thankfulnessse for his victorie,
 and did also institute a fye yeres solemnitie,
 which was called the solemnitie of Actium,

O Cæsar Iulius Cæsar
 sacrificeth
 all the Pinna-
 ses to Apollo.

Octavius
buildeth Ni-
copolis.

besides this he built a faire temple to Apollo, and in the place where his tents were pitched he founded a great city called Nicopolis, the citie of victorie. Asinius Pollio did still praeserue the auncient amitie that was betwixt him and M. Antonius, for when Cæsar at his departing from Rome, requested him that he would ioyne with him, in his warres against Antonius, he made this answer: The benefites of Antonius towards me, will not permit me to be an enemy vnto him, and my merites at the hands of Antonius be farre otherwise, the that Antonius should be an enemy vnto me, wherefore leauing both and leaning to neither, I wil stay here in Italie, and be the spoile of the conqueror. Cæsar did afterward besiege Antonius & Cleopatra at Alexandria, where Antonius being in a most desperate plight, being in no possibilitie to recouer Cæsars fauour, and hearing by a false rumor, that Cleopatra was slaine, did suddenly stab himselfe. Cæsar tooke Alexandria, and with it Cleopatra, but because she would not grace Octavius so much as to be led in triumph by him, she put Aspes to her breasts, and was by them

Cleopatra
killed by As-
pides.

them done to death, though her keeper had praecise charge to looke carefully vnto her. Ægypt was then brought by Cæsar into the forme of a prouince, and hauing made Cornelius Gallus Praesident there, he came to Rome, where he had a triple triumph, the one of Dalmatia, which he brought to conformitie after his warre finished against Sex. Pompeius, the other of Actium, the third of Alexandria. V When Cæsar with the great applause and gratulation of the Romanes had pacified the whole praecinct of the world, and for that cause had shut the temple of Ianus the third time, and an augurie of safetie was celebrated, which two things were neuer done but when the whole Empire was in quietnesse, he purposed to depose the Empirie, & to bring the common-weale to a good & perfect constitution. To depose the Empirie, M. Agrippa did perswade him, but Mecenas did dissuade him, whose opinion he yeelded vnto. V Wherefore endeuoring by law to confirme the Empirie, and to win the fauour and good estimation, as well of the Nobles and Senators, as of the people, he burnt all the letters which

the citizens that were then in Rome or out of Rome had writtē to Antonius, lest any Senator who did follow Antonius his faction, should thinke himselfe to be hated of Cæsar for that cause, & so should attempt some mischief against him: he releued the common stocke, which was greatly wasted by ciuill warres, with his owne priuate wealth, & them that were indebted to the common treasure, the billes of debt being burnt with his owne handes, he did free from the daunger of the rolle. And whereas many things were done, in the tumults and seditions of the citizens, against law and custome by Lepidus and Antonius, he did repeale them by an Edict, and made his sixth Consulship, which he then enjoyed to be the death-day of these lawes; by which meanes when he had worthily drawne vnto him the hearts of the people, yet in one thing he pleased them about the rest, which was done rather of pollicie thē of plaine meaning: for hauing singled out a great number of Senators, whose loue toward him was specially approued, in a very frequent Senate, he did offer to surrender the Empire into the hands

hands of the Senators and people. But some of the Senators, because they suspected that his wordes differed from his meaning, some because they did feare greater daunger by a popular estate, others because they feared his displeasure, if they should agree vnto it, they did with one voice refuse the offer, and ioyned in earnest sute and humble petition vnto him, that he would be the sole gouernour and absolute Emperour of Rome, and for that cause they did decree that the stipēd of those who did guard his person should be doubled, that he might be in more safetie by that meane, both to his friends and to the cōmonweale. VVhen by the franke assent of the Senate and people, he had thus, not confirmed the auncient Empire, but in deed created a new Monarchie, that he might seeme popular, he was content to charge him selfe with the weightie affaires of the Empire: but the authoritie and dignitie thereof he did cōmunicate with the people: and therefore vnto the Senate and people he did allot Numidia, Asia, Græcia, Epirus, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Sicilia, Creta, Cyrene, Bythinia, Pontus, Sar-

dinia and Hispania Betica: which were the
 more peaceable and quiet countries. To him
 selfe he tooke the other parts of Spaine, and
 all Fraunce, Narbonensis, Lugdunensis, A-
 quitanica Celtica, likewise Germania, Cœ-
 losyria, Phœnicia, Cyprus and Ægypt. And
 that he might void out of their minds all sus-
 pition of Monarchie, the supreme authoritie
 that was assigned to him he did only restraints
 to ten yeres continuance. The Romanes did
 bestow diuerse honors vpon Cæsar, planting
 before the doore of his Court a Bay tree, on
 the top whereof they set a wreath of oaken
 boughs, signifying that he was the man that
 had both ouercome their enemies, and set
 their citie in safetie. They decreed also that
 his Court should be called a Pallace, so that
 in what region soeuer the Romane Emperour
 did sojourne, his Court was called a Pallace,
 and that he should be called Augustus. For
 when many would haue adorned him with
 some title of excellencie, Cæsar had a great
 desire to be called Romulus secundus, but
 because that did resemble too much the title
 of a king, he was content to be called Augu-
 rus,

The Romanes
 plant a bay
 tree before
 Octavius his
 doore.

stus, that is, maiesticall or diuine. Thus had
 Cæsar the power of a king the stile only fore-
 prized. In him all the dignities and magistra-
 cies did meete, he was sole Consul, in deter-
 mining iudicially of publike affaires, sole Pō-
 tifex, for he had that speciall title, sole Cenfor
 in taxing the Romanes by poales, and fining
 them for faults, sole Tribune, in abrogating
 these lawes & voiding these acts which were
 made and done by other magistrates: which
 though in shew they were manie, yet in deed
 there was now but one Magistrate in Rome,
 one Emperour, one Augustus; but these ho-
 nors did not warrant Cæsars quietnesse, for
 he was endangered by many trecheries, and
 being thereby too seuer in punishing both
 the worthie and vnworthie, vpon suspicion &
 surmise without anie formall proceeding a-
 gainst them, he did indeed minister oile vnto
 the flame of their malice. Amongst the rest
 Cn. Cornelius, whose grandfather was Cn.
 Pompeius Magnus, did with his complices
 imagine and conspire the death of Augustus,
 whom Cæsar would not put to death, because
 he thought by that meane, he should gaine

no great securitie, neither would he deliuer them from imprisonment, lest others might take courage & counsell to attempt the like. VVith this doubt & perplexitie he was grievously troubled, and cares did torment his mind both in the night and in the day time; wherefore walking alone in his garden, and musing what to do, Liuia the Empreſſe came vnto him, and prayed him of all loues to reueale vnto her, what grieve had encroched vpon his heart, and what was the cause of his vnusuall dumpes, to whom Cæſar made this
 “ answer. Can any man, Liuia, be of a calme
 “ and contented mind, against whom on euery
 “ ſide are layd the ſnares of treason? Seeſt thou
 “ not how manie doe beſiege my quietneſſe,
 “ whom the puniſhment of condemned per-
 “ ſons doth not only not deterre, but, as if there
 “ were ſome hope of reward, others ruſh deſ-
 “ peratly forward to vnlawfull attempts. Liuia
 “ when ſhe heard this, did thus reply. It is no
 “ maruel, my Lord, if you be beſet with dāgers,
 “ partly becauſe you are a man, and therefore
 “ borne to caſualtie, partly an Emperour, by
 “ whoſe authoritie, becauſe manie are put to
 death,

death, many that liue do conceiue hatred a-
 gainſt you; for a Prince cānot only not pleaſe
 all, but though he gouerne in moſt orderly
 and peaceable maner, it cannot be otherwiſe,
 but he ſhould haue many foes. For there be
 not ſo many iuſt as iniurious, whoſe humours
 can neuer be ſatiſfied, & they which be of the
 better ſort do aime at great matters, which
 becauſe they can not obtaine, and becauſe
 they are inferiour to others, are full of male-
 contentment, and for that cauſe they are of-
 fended with their Prince. But the danger vnto
 which you are ſubiect by them which do not
 cōſpire againſt your perſon, but againſt your
 eſtate, cannot anie way be auoided. For if,
 you were a priuate man, none would offer
 you iniurie, vnleſſe he receiued wrong be-
 fore at your hands, but an Empire, and the
 reuenues thereof, they which haue power do
 rather affect, then they which are poore do
 loath. This though it be a point of vnconſcio-
 nable men, yet as other faults, ſo this is the
 ſeed of nature, which out of ſome men nei-
 ther by rewards nor by threats you ſhall be a-
 ble to extirpate: for neither feare nor lawe

« can do more then nature. V Which being tho-
 « roughly considered, it will seeme a great deale
 « more conuenient to strengthen and stablish
 « your Empire with faithfulnessse and loyaltie,
 « then with sharpnesse and rigor. Augustus did
 « thus reioyne: I know, Liuia, that the highest
 « things be most subiect to hatred, & the grea-
 « test Emperours haue the greatest enemies:
 « for if our cares, griefes and perils were not
 « greater then the griefes and perturbations of
 « private mē, we should be æqual to the Gods;
 « but this doth chiefly molest me, that I cannot
 « deuise anie remedie, which may cure & con-
 « quer this mischiefe. All men haue enemies, &
 « many haue bene slaine by enemies, but the e-
 « state of Princes lieth so open to casualtie, that
 « we are cōstrained to feare our familiar frinds
 « and our daily acquaintance, with whom be-
 « cause we must continually conuerse, we do
 « continually feare, and this maladie is more
 « hardly redressed then enmitie: for against our
 « enemies we may oppose our friends, but if
 « our friends do faile vs, where is thē our helpe?
 « therefore both solitude and multitude is grie-
 « uous vnto vs, & it is dangerous to be without
 agard,

a gard, but to haue an vnfaithful gard is much »
 more dangerous. Apparant enemies may be »
 auoided; but false-hearted friends we cannot »
 anie way shunne: for we must call thē friends, »
 of whose constant faithfulnessse we can not »
 possibly be assured; for my selfe I do plainly »
 protest, that my heart abhorreth from the ex- »
 tremitie of punishment, and the necessitie of »
 torture goeth greatly against my mind. Then »
 said Liuia, You haue spoken well my Lord, »
 but if you will be aduised by me, & you ought »
 not to refuse my counsell because it procee- »
 deth from a woman; I will aduise you of that »
 which none of your friends will impart vnto »
 you, not because they are ignorant of it, but »
 for that they dread your displeasure. V Which »
 Augustus taking hold of, Tell it me Liuia »
 said he whatsoeuer it is. I will, said Liuia, and »
 that as willingly as you would heare it, for I »
 am made partaker of your destinie. Cæsar »
 being safe I am Emperesse, and he being dis- »
 honored, which misfortune the Gods auert, »
 I am also disgraced, and bereaued of glorie. »
 That I may not vse an ambush of words, nor »
 a labyrinth of circumstances: my theame shal, »

" be one word, and that is, Clemencie. Change
 " thy course Augustus, and forgieue some of thy
 " foes, manie things may be healed by lenitie,
 " which crueltie can neuer cut off. Neither do
 " I speake this, as if disloyall and irregular per-
 " sons should generally and without difference
 " receiue mercie, nay they that be notoriously
 " stained, and branded with conspiracie, they
 " that trouble the quietnesse of the Common-
 " weale, they that are ouerflowed with vices,
 " whose life is nothing else but leudnes, so that
 " they are past hope or helpe, cut them off my
 " Augustus, as the putrified parts of a distem-
 " pered bodie: but they which either through
 " the infirmitie of youth, or the imprudency of
 " mind, or through ignorance or mischaunce
 " haue offended, or which against their willes
 " haue bene drawne into daunger, admonish
 " them, but with minatorie speeches: and let
 " them finde grace but with condition. Some
 " thou mayest punish with exile, some with in-
 " famie, and some with money: and that none
 " may be vniustly condemned, nor by a fained
 " accusation suffer death, let the truth be tried
 " by such proofes, as may worthilie be appro-
 " ued.

ued. For it behooueth thee Augustus, not
 onely to be free from doing wrong, but euen
 from shew and semblance of iniurie. Priuate
 men haue done enough if they haue not of-
 fended, but a Prince must endeuor not to be
 suspected of faults. Thou rulest ouer men, not
 ouer beasts, ouer Romanes, and not ouer
 Barbarians, and the onely meane to lincke
 their hearts vnto thee, is to benefite all and
 to oppresse none. For though a man may be
 constrained to feare, yet he cannot be enfor-
 ced to loue; for when the subiect clearly di-
 scerneth that his Prince is bountifull, he is
 soone perswaded: but when he is once resol-
 ued vpon manifest præsumption, that some
 be vniustly put to death, lest the same thing
 happen vnto him, he may iustly feare: and
 whō he so feareth, he hateth with the strength
 of his heart. But a Prince is the priuiledge of
 his subiects security, that they take no harme,
 neither of forreiners, nor of their fellow sub-
 iects, much lesse of their Prince & protector.
 And it is a great deale more magnificent and
 glorious to saue then to kill: wherfore lawes,
 benefites, admonitions must be vsed, that

“ men may become circumspect, & warie, and
 “ further they must be so diligently watched
 “ and obserued, that though they would be, yet
 “ they may not be traiterous; and they which
 “ are Greene in conceit, and as it were flexible
 “ waxe to the stronger powers, must haue per-
 “ petuall conseruatiues lest they be corrupted:
 “ and to tollerate the offences of some, is both
 “ great wisdom and great manhood: for if e-
 “ uerie mans fault should be his fall, the earth
 “ would soone lacke inhabitants. Thinke my
 “ good Augustus, that the sword cannot do all
 “ things for thee: it cannot make men wise, it
 “ cannot make them faithfull: it may constraîne
 “ them, but it cannot perswade them: it doth
 “ pierce the heart of him that is slaine, but it
 “ doth alienate the mind of him that doth liue.
 “ VVherefore alter thy opinion noble Empe-
 “ rour, and by vsing clemencie they will thinke
 “ that all that thou hast heretofore done was
 “ done by necessitie and against thy will, but if
 “ thou perseuerest still in the same minde and
 “ purpose, they will impute all that hath bene
 “ done to the austeritie and sournesse of thy
 “ nature. V Vith these speeches of Liuius Augu-
 stus

stus being moued, pardoned many, and vsed
 as much lenitie as his owne safetie would
 beare: whereby he purchased the entire loue
 of the Romanes, and all his life time after
 there was neuer anie treason attempted a-
 gainst him. Thus after ciuill enmities extin-
 guished, forreine warres fully ended, iustice
 recalled, destiny satisfied, strength was re-
 stored to lawes, authoritie to Magistrates,
 dignitie to the Nobles, maiestie to the Se-
 nate, safetie to the people: the fieldes were
 without hinderance trimmed and tilled, the
 sacrifices celebrated and solemnized, quiet-
 nesse returned to men, and euerie possession
 to his lawfull owner: good lawes were made,
 imperfect lawes were amended, bad lawes
 cancelled: the Senators were seuered without
 currishnesse, the people honest without con-
 straint: and with this harmonic peace
 pleased the Romanes.

E c

A Table of the principall matters contained in this historie according to the number of the Pages.

A

Ancus a great builder. 8
M. Antonius the orator put to death by Marins & Cinna. 65
M. Antonius he helpeth Caesar 138. *He is spared at the time whē Caesar is slain.* 169
He fighteth with Pansa. 175
He fighteth with Hirtius. 176. *He fighteth with both the Consuls.* *ibid.* *Octavius becommeth an enemy unto him.* *ibid.* *He writeth contumelious letters to Brutus and Cassius.* 180. *The incest of M. Antonius.* 193.

B

D. Brutus suffereth him selfe to be besieged by Antonius. 175. *He is slaine.* 179

C

Campania: the praise of it. 10
Carthage: the beginning of the second Corthagiā warre. 12
Masiniſſa quarrelleth with the Carthaginians. 45. *Scipio is sent as Vmpier betwixt them and Masiniſſa.* 46. *the Citie of Carthage is burnt.* 47.

C. Cēpio is slaine. 2
C. Iulius Caesar: he is inclined to sedition. 103. *his originall* 107. *his death is sought for by Sillaes officers.* 108. *the Helnetians fled before Caesar.* 116. *they are overcome by him.* 117. *he pursueth Batiel against Arionistia.* *ibid.* *he fighteth against the Belgians and Nerrians.* *ibid.* *he overthroweth the Germanes* *ibid.* *he burneth the villages of the Sicambrians.* 118. *he overcome the Britaines* *ibid.* *he is reconciled to the Britaines.* *ibid.* *he reneweth against them.* *ibid.* *the Eburons are overcome by him.* 119. *his renewe upon the French rebels.* 120. *a decree made by the Senate that he should dismiss his armie.* 122 *he is incensed by Curio against the Senate.* 123. *his passionate speech against the Senate.* *ibid.* *he pardoneth Domitius.* 127. *he seizeth the treasure.* 131. *he marcheth toward Spaine.* *ibid.* *the strangers which were assistant*

THE TABLE.

assistant to Caesar. 133. *the Cesarians give the first assault to Pompey.* 140. *his speech to Domitius.* 143. *the dreames and visions of the Cesarians.* 145. *he is entertained of Cleopatra.* 148. *he is assailed by the King of Egypt.* 149. *he swimmeth in the river of Nilus.* *ibid.* *he addresseth against Pharnaces.* 150. *he putteth Pharnaces to flight.* *ibid.* *he encountereth P. Scipio.* *ibid.* *his triumphes are described.* 156 *Salust maketh an oration to him.* 157. *the great honours bestowed upon him.* 165. *he fighteth with Cn. Pompeius the younger at the Citie of Sinille.* *ibid.* *the causes of the conspiracie bent against him.* 167. *he is slaine in the Senate house.* 168. *the Law Portia broken by the killing of him.* 169. *the Law Cornelia also broken.* *ibid.*
C. Catulus: the dissention of Lepidus and Catulus. 16. 76
C. Catulus cause of his owne death. 66
Portius Cato is slaine. 55
M. Portius Cato Itichus his lignage. 102. *his praise.* *ibid.* *he killeth himselfe.* 150
Catiline: his qualities. 83. *his*

lignage. 85. *he killeth his own sonne.* 86. *he is greatly indebted.* 87. *he is forbidden to make sute for the Consulship.* *ibid.* *his impudent answer to Ciceroes oration.* 98.
Cincinnatus his speedy warre. 9
L. Cinna: he beginneth a new broyle. 62. *he is expelled the Citie.* *ibid.* *he is made Captaine of a seditious armie.* *ibid.* *he calleth C. Marins from banishment.* 63. *a great fight betwixt him and Cn. Pompeius Strabo.* 64. *he encountereth the Citie.* *ibid.* *he is slaine.* 69
Cicero: he is called Paerpatrice. 83. *his oration against Catiline.* 92. *he mourneth.* 112. *he committeth himselfe to voluntarie exile.* 113. *a sharpe law is made concerning his banishment.* *ibid.* *he is recalled from banishment.* 114. *he is put to death.* 185. *Fulviaes despitefull dealing with his tongue.* 186
Cleopatra killed by Aspsworms. 196
Clodius: he being tribune of the people becommeth seditious. 109. *he seeketh reuenge upon Cicero.* 110. *he is infamous for adulterie with*
Ec 2

THE TABLE.

Pompeia Casars wife. *ibid.*
for incest with his sisters.
ibid. he is condemned by the
Senate. *ibid.* he perssisteth to
be an enemie to Cicero. 114
he burneth the house of Q.
Cicero. *ibid.* he threatneth
death to Sanctia. 115. he is
slaine by Milo- *ibid.*
Cornelia: she lamenteth her
children. 27

D

Drusus: his hard fortune. 32
he is slaine. 34. his repulse is
the beginning of the Italian
warre. 38

F

Ful. Flaccus a rebellious Sena-
tor slaine. 26

G

Gabinus: after a prospe-
rous fight he is slaine. 23
G. Gracchus: he is a rebell to
the state. 25. his seditious
actes. 26. he is beheaded. 27

I

Italie: the Italian warre. 15

L

M. Lepidus: the dissention of
Lepidus and Catulus. 16

M

M. Alaricus: the contention be-

twixt him and Silla. 15. he
besiegeth the Capitall. 31
he putteth the conspiratours
to death. *ibid.* he destroyeth
Saturninus his house. *ibid.* he
taketh Iugurtha by Sillaes
meanes. 28. his 3. 4. 5. 6.
Consulships. 29. his great
victorie against the Cimbri-
ans. *ibid.* he is in high repu-
tation. 34. he putteth Vetti-
us Cato to flight. 52. he fight-
eth equally with the Mar-
sians. 53. he is dysliked by the
Consul Portius. 54. his am-
bition. 59. his extreame mi-
serie. 60. a captine slaine is
sent to kill him. 61. the Min-
turnians are friends to him.
ibid. being recalled from ban-
ishment he entreth the Ci-
tie. 64. Octavius is put to
death by his crueltie. 65. he
dieth. 67

Mancinus: his punishment for
breaking truce. 20

Metellus: he opposeth him-
selfe against Saturninus. 30
he committeth himselfe to
voluntarie banishment. *ibid.*
Metellus his speech to Casar.

130.
Mterula: he cutteth in peeces
his owne veine. 65

Mithridates an enemie to the
Romanes. 15. 58
Numa

THE TABLE.

N

Numa religious. 8
Numantia: the Numantine
warre. 20

O

Octavius his request to the Se-
nate. 177. he reconcilerth
himselfe to M. Antonius
& M. Lepidus. *ibid.* M. Ci-
cero doth greatly commend
him. 178. he taketh Clodia
to wife. 179. he besiegeth
Perusia. 190. he fighteth
with Sex. Pompeius. 191.
he readerth the testament of
M. Antonius. 192. he sa-
crificeth all the Pinasses
which he hath taken to A-
pollo. 195. he buildeth Ni-
copolis. 196. the Romanes
plant a bay tree before his
doore. 200
Opimius his proclamation. 26

P

C. Perperna discharged C. of
his lienetnancie. 52
Asinius Pollio: the praise of
him. 190
Cn. Pompeius Strabo: his vi-
ctories. 55. he triumpheth.
56. his dissembling and vn-
constancie. 63. a great fight
betwixt him and Cinna. 64
Cn. Pompeius Magnus: his Rome built.

great dignitie in Rome. 16
Casar cannot brooke it. *ibid.*
he & Q. Catulus fight with
Lepidus and overcome him.
77. Mithridates is over-
throwne by Pompey. 106. he
entreteth the Temple of Je-
rusalem. *ibid.* he is honoured
with a triple triumph. 107.
he matcheth with Julia Ca-
sars daughter. 109. his
Presidentship in Spaine pro-
rogued. 121. he is appoin-
ted by the Senate generall
against Casar. 127. Domi-
tius flyeth to Pompey. 128
the forreiners which were
readie in armes for the assi-
stance of him. 132. his ora-
tion to his souldiers. 134. he
putteth Casar to flight. 138
he marshalleth his armie.
139. he flyeth to Larissa. 144
he tranellerth to AEgypt.
146. he is slaine by the AE-
gyptians. 147

C. of Papedius a na-
turall enemie to the Ro-
mans. 40. his oration to the
Marsians. 41. he is slaine.
55.
Pyrrhus fighting against the
Romanes. 10

R

Ec 3 6

THE TABLE.

Romanes: the *Romanes* made
wanton by prosperitie 19. the
Romane Embassadors are
despised of *Hanniball*. 44
the *Athenians* faithfull to
the *Romanes*. 67. the solemn-
itie which the *Romanes*
used in their proceeding to
the Senate. 89. treacherie
against the *Romanes* in
France. 119. what thing
a triumph was amongst the
Romans, and how perfor-
med. 151. they bestow many
honors upon *Cesar*. 166
Romulus eagrest in fight. 8
Romulus & *Remus* bast-
ards. 42. nourished by a
wolfe. *ibid.* *Remus* is slaine
by *Romulus*. 43
P. Rutilius is slaine. 52

S

Saturninus: he causeth *C.*
Memmius to be slain. 31. his
house is destroyed by *Mari-*
us. *ibid.* he is a brocher of
sedition. 30. *Q. Metellus*
opposeth himselfe against
him. *ibid.* *Marius* fau-
oreth *Saturninus*. *ibid.*
Saguntines: the miserable sa-
mine of the *Saguntines*. 44
Sabines: the rape of the *Sabine*
virgins. 43
P. Scipio *Africanus* the elder

his valor. 18
P. Scipio *Africanus* the youn-
ger: his prowesse. 18. he is
sent backe into *Spaine*. 24. he
surpriseth *Numantia*. *ibid.*
he is found dead in his bed. 25
his body is brought out into
the streete. *ibid.*
Scipio *Nasica*: his familie. 22
he opposeth himselfe to *Grac-*
chus. *ibid.*
Servius taxeth the *Romanes*
by poles. 8
Servilius: he is *Proconsull* and
is slaine by the commotioners
of *Italy*. 38
Sertorius: he leuieth armes in
Spaine. 77. he feareth *Pom-*
pey. 106. *Linus* *Salinator*
the *Lientenani* of *Sertori-*
us is slaine. 77. *Sertorius* is
slaine. 79
Spartacus: he being a fence-
player doth encounter the
army of the *Consuls*. 81. he
taketh the citie of the *Thu-*
rians. *ibid.* *M. Crassus* ap-
pointed for the warre a-
gainst him. 82
Sulpicius: he bringeth the
Marrucines to obedience. 55
Sulpicius: a seditious *Tribune*
altereth the state. 59. mur-
der is committed by him.
ibid.
L. Sylla: his victorie *Samnites*.
his

THE TABLE.

55. he killeth *Cluentius*.
ibid. he is made *Consull*. 57
his contrarie nature. *ibid.* his
descent. *ibid.* he besiegeth
Nola. 58. his revenge upon
the seditious. 68. his hard
conditions of peace conclu-
ded with *Alibridates*. 68
the King of *Parthia* sendeth
Embassadors to him. *ibid.*
he passeth quietly through
Italy. 69. he dismisseth *Ser-*
torius without hurt. 70. he
fighteth with *Telesinus* a
Samnite. 71. *C. Marius*
the younger is slaine by his
souldiers. 72. he usurpeth
the Dictatorship. *ibid.* he
causeth the souldiers of *Pre-*
nesto to be slaine. 73. he put-
teth in practise proscription.
73. *M. Marius* is slaine by
him. 74. his rage against
Pleitorius. *ibid.* the ashes of
C. Marcus throwne into a
river by *Sylla*. 75. he dieth.
ibid.

T

Tarquin banished. 1. his or-
naments. 8. proud *Tarquin*
occasioner of libertie. 9
Treuirate: a *Treuirate* first
made in *Rome*. 21
Tullus an artificall Captaine.
8.

V

Viriathus an enemy to the *Ro-*
manes. 19

FINIS.

Errors.
 Monarches.
 Clozlia.
 Malffius.
 cloudes.
 Glaucias.
 Egnatius.
 Stabia.
 Peligni.
 Talenia.
 Enomaus.
 Consulians.
 it grateeth my hart.
 the Pictons.
 the Turens.
 the Andians.
 Achilles.
 arrogate.
 Atia was.

Page.
 pag. 4.
 pag. 9.
 pag. 10.
 pag. 10.
 pag. 31.
 pag. 52.
 pag. 53.
 pag. 54.
 pag. 78.
 pag. 80.
 pag. 91.
 pag. 100.
 pag. 119.
 pag. 110.
 pag. 120.
 pag. 147.
 pag. 173.
 pag. 175.

Correction.
 Monarches.
 Clozlia.
 Malffius.
 cloudes.
 Glaucias.
 Egnatius.
 Stabia.
 Peligni.
 Valenia.
 Enomaus.
 Consularians.
 it grateth my hart.
 the Pictons.
 the Turens.
 the Andians.
 Achilles.
 arrogate.
 Atia, who was.

A Table of the principall matters contained in this historie according to the number of the Pages:

A

Ancus a great builder. 8

M. Antonius the orator put to death by Marius & Cinna. 65

M. Antonius he helpeth Caesar 138. *He is spared at the time whē Caesar is slain.* 169 *He fighteth with Pansa.* 175 *He fighteth with Hirinus.* 176. *He fighteth with both the Consuls.* *ibid.* *Octavius becommeth an enemy unto him.* *ibid.* *He writeth contumelious letters to Brutus and Cassius.* 180. *The betrayer of M. Antonius.* 193.

B

D. Brutus suffereth him selfe to be besieged by Antonius. 175. *He is slain.* 179

C

Campania: the praise of it. 10 *Carthage: the beginning of the second Corthagiā warre.* 12 *Masiniſſa quarrelleth with the Carthaginians.* 45. *Scipio is sent as Vmpire betwixt them and Masiniſſa.* 46. *the Citie of Carthage is burnt.* 47.

Q. Capio is slain.

C. Iulius Caesar: he is inclined to sedition. 103. *his originall* 107. *his death is sought for by Sillaes officers.* 108. *the Helnetians fled before Caesar.* 116. *they are overcome by him.* 117. *he pursueth battle against Arionisſa.* *ibid.* *he fighteth against the Belgians and Nerrians.* *ibid.* *he overthroweth the Germanes* *ibid.* *he burneth the villages of the Sicambrians.* 118. *he overcommeth the Britaines* *ibid.* *he is reconciled to the Britaines.* *ibid.* *he renueth against them.* *ibid.* *the Eburons are overcome by him.* 119. *his renenge upon the French rebels.* 120. *a decree made by the Senate that he should dismiſſe his armie.* 122 *he is incensed by Curio against the Senate.* 123. *his passionate speech against the Senate.* *ibid.* *he pardoneth Domitius.* 127. *he seiſeth the treasure.* 131. *he marcheth toward Spaine.* *ibid.* *the strangers which were* *assistant*

THE TABLE.

assitant to Caesar. 133. *the Caſarians give the first assault to Pompey.* 140. *his speech to Domitius.* 143. *the dreames and visions of the Caſarians.* 145. *he is entertained of Cleopatra.* 148. *he is assaulted by the King of Egypt.* 149. *he swimmeth in the river of Nilus.* *ibid.* *he addresseth against Pharnaces.* 150. *he putteth Pharnaces to flight.* *ibid.* *he encourageth P. Scipio.* *ibid.* *his triumphes are described.* 156 *Saluſt maketh an oration to him.* 157. *the great honours bestowed upon him.* 165. *he fighteth with Cn. Pompeius the younger at the Citie of Sinille.* *ibid.* *the causes of the conspiracie bent against him.* 167. *he is slain in the Senate house.* 168. *the Law Portia broken by the killing of him.* 169. *the Law Cornelia also broken.* *ibid.* *Q. Catulus: the dissention of Lepidus and Catulus.* 1676 *Q. Catulus cause of his owne death.* 66 *Portius Cato is slain.* 55 *M. Portius Cato Iuchus his lineage.* 102. *his praise.* *ibid.* *he killeth himselfe.* 150 *Caſtine: his qualities.* 83. *his*

lineage. 85. *he killeth his own sonne.* 86. *he is greatly indebted.* 87. *he is forbidden to make sute for the Consulship.* *ibid.* *his impudent answer to Ciceroes oration.* 98. *Cincinnatus his speedy warre.* 9 *L. Cinna: he becommeth a new broyle.* 62. *he is expelled the Citie.* *ibid.* *he is made Captaine of a seditious armie.* *ibid.* *he calleth C. Marius from banishment.* 63. *a great fight betwixt him and Cn. Pompeius Strabo.* 64. *he entreateth the Citie.* *ibid.* *he is slain.* 69 *Cicero: he is called Paſſipatris.* 83. *his oration against Catiline.* 92. *he mourneth.* 112. *he committeth himselfe to voluntarie exile.* 113. *a sharpe law is made concerning his banishment.* *ibid.* *he is recalled from banishment.* 114. *he is put to death.* 185. *Fulviaes despitefull dealing with his young.* 186 *Cleopatra killed by Asps worms.* 196 *Clodius: he being tribune of the people becommeth sedition.* 109. *he seeketh renenge upon Cicero.* 110. *he is infamous for adulterie with* *Ec 2*

THE TABLE.

Pompeia Casars wife. *ibid.*
for incest with his sisters.
ibid. he is condemned by the
Senate. *ibid.* he perssisteth to
be anemie to Cicero. 114
he burneth the house of Q.
Cicero. *ibid.* he threatneth
death to Sanctia. 115. he is
saine by Milo. *ibid.*
Cornelia : she lamenteth her
children. 27

D

Drusus : his hard fortune. 32
he is saine. 34. his repulse is
the beginning of the Italian
warre. 38

F

Ful. Flaccus arebellious Sena-
tor saine. 26

G

A. Gabinius : after a prospe-
rous fight he is saine. 23
C. Gracchus : he is a rebell to
the state. 25. his seditious
attles. 26. he is beheaded. 27

I

Italie : the Italian warre. 15

L

M. Lepidus : the dissention of
Lepidus and Catulus. 16

M

C. Marius : the contention be-

twixt him and Sulla. 15. he
besiegeth the Capitall. 31
he putteth the conspiratours
to death. *ibid.* he destroyeth
Saturnius his house. *ibid.* he
taketh Iugurtha by Sillaes
meanes. 28. his 3. 4. 5. 6.
Consulships. 29. his great
victorie against the Cimbri-
ans. *ibid.* he is in high repu-
tation. 34. he putteth Vetti-
us Cato to flight. 52. he fight-
eth equally with the Mar-
sians. 53. he is disliked by the
Consul Portius. 54. his am-
bition. 59. his extreame mis-
serie. 60. a captiue slave is
sent to kill him. 61. the Min-
turnians are friends to him.
ibid. being recalled from ban-
ishment he entreateth the Ci-
tie. 64. Octavius is put to
death by his crueltie. 65. he
dieth. 67

Mancinus : his punishment for
breaking truce. 20

Metellus : he opposeth him-
selfe against Saturnius. 30
he committeth himselfe to
voluntarie banishment. *ibid.*
Metellus his speech to Casar.

130.
Merula : he cutteth in peeces
his owne veine. 65

Mithridates an enemie to the
Romanes. 15. 58
Numa

THE TABLE.

N

Numa religious. 8
Numantia : the Numantine
warre. 20

O

Octavius his request to the Se-
nate. 177. he reconcileth
himselfe to M. Antonius
& M. Lepidus. *ibid.* M. Ci-
cero doth greatly commend
him. 178. he taketh Clodia
to wife. 179. he besiegeth
Perusia. 190. he fighteth
with Sex. Pompeius. 191.
he readeth the testament of
M. Antonius. 192. he sa-
crificeth all the Pinasses
which he hath taken to A-
pollo. 195. he buildeth Ni-
copolis. 196. the Romanes
plant a bay tree before his
doore. 200

Opimius his proclamation. 26

P

C. Perperna discharged C. of
his lieutenancie. 52
Asinius Pollio : the praise of
him. 190

Cn. Pompeius Strabo : his vi-
ctories. 55. he triumpheth.
56. his dissimbling and vn-
constancie. 63. a great fight
betwixt him and Cinna. 64

Cn. Pompeius Magnus : his

great dignitie in Rome. 16
Casar cannot brooke it. *ibid.*
he & Q. Catulus fight with
Lepidus and overcome him.
77. Mithridates is over-
throwne by Pompey. 106. he
entreateth the Temple of Je-
rusalem. *ibid.* he is honoured
with a triple triumph. 107.
he matcheth with Iulia Ce-
sars daughter. 109. his
Presidentship in Spaine pro-
rogued. 121. he is appoin-
ted by the Senate generall
against Casar. 127. Domi-
tius flyeth to Pompey. 128
the forreiners which were
readie in armes for the assi-
tance of him. 132. his ora-
tion to his souldiers. 134. he
putteth Casar to flight. 138
he marshalleth his armie.
139. he flyeth to Larissa. 144
he tranelleth to AEgypt.
146. he is saine by the AE-
gyptians. 147

Popedius. Sili. Popedius a na-
tural enemy to the Ro-
mans. 40. his oration to the
Marsians. 41. he is saine.
55.
Pyrrhus fighting against the
Romanes. 10

R

Rome built. 6

THE TABLE.

Romanes : the *Romanes* made wanton by prosperitie 19. the *Romane* Embassadors are despised of Hanniball. 44 the *Athenians* faithfull to the *Romans*. 67. the solemnitie which the *Romanes* used in their proceeding to the Senate. 89. treacherie against the *Romanes* in Fraunce. 119. what thing a triumph was amongst the *Romans*, and how performed. 151. they bestow many honors upon *Cesar*. 166 *Romulus* eagrest in fight. 8 *Romulus* & *Remus* bastards. 42. nourished by a wolfe. *ibid.* *Remus* is slaine by *Romulus*. 43 *P. Rutilius* is slaine. 52

S

Saturninus : he causeth *C. Memmius* to be slaine. 31. his house is destroyed by *Marius*. *ibid.* he is a brocher of sedition. 30. *Q. Metellus* opposeth himselfe against him. *ibid.* *Marius* fauoreth *Saturninus*. *ibid.* *Saguntines* : the miserable famine of the *Saguntines*. 44 *Sabines* : the rape of the *Sabine* virgins. 43 *P. Scipio Affricanus* the elder

his valor. 18
P. Scipio Affricanus the younger : his prowesse. 18. he is sent backe into Spaine. 24. he surpriseth *Numantia*. *ibid.* he is found dead in his bed. 25 his body is brought out into the streete. *ibid.* *Scipio Nasica* : his familie. 22 he opposeth himselfe to *Gracchus*. *ibid.* *Sernius* taxeth the *Romans* by poles. 8 *Sernitius* : he is *Proconsull* and is slaine by the commotioners of Italy. 38 *Sertorius* : he leuieth armes in Spaine. 77. he feareth *Pompey*. 106. *Liuius Salinator* the Lieutenant of *Sertorius* is slaine. 77. *Sertorius* is slaine. 79 *Spartacius* : he being a seuceplayer doth encounter the army of the *Consuls*. 81. he taketh the citie of the *Thurians*. *ibid.* *M. Crassus* appointed for the vuarre against him. 82 *Sulpitius* : he bringeth the *Marrucines* to obedience. 55 *Sulpitius* : a seditious Tribune altereth the state. 59. murder is committed by him. *ibid.* *L. Sylla* : his victorie *Samnites*. his

THE TABLE.

55. he killeth *Cluentius*. *ibid.* he is made *Consull*. 57 his contray nature. *ibid.* his descent. *ibid.* he bessegeth *Nola*. 58. his reuenge vpon the seditious. 60. his hard condicions of peace concluded with *Alibridates*. 68 the King of *Parthia* sendeth Embassadors to him. *ibid.* he passeth quietly through Italy. 69. he dismisseth *Sertorius* without hurt. 70. he fighteth with *Telesinus* a *Samnite*. 71. *C. Marius* the younger is slaine by his souldiers. 72. he vsurpeth the Dictatorship. *ibid.* he causeth the souldiers of *Præneste* to be slaine. 73. he putteth in practise proscription. 73. *M. Marius* is slaine by him. 74. his rage against *Pleitorius*. *ibid.* the ashes of *C. Marcus* throwne into a river by *Sylla*. 75. he dieth. *ibid.*

T

Tarquin banished. 1. his ornaments. 8. proud *Tarquin* occasioner of libertie. 9 *Trenitate* : a *Trenitate* first made in Rome. 21 *Tullus* an artificiall Captaine. 8.

V

Virriathus an enemy to the *Romanes*. 19

FINIS.

<i>Faults.</i>	<i>Pag.</i>	<i>Correction.</i>
Monarchies.	Pag. 4.	Monarches.
Clozlia.	pag. 9.	Clozlia.
Maffius.	pag. 10.	Mafficus.
clouds.	pag. 10.	clouds.
Glaucias.	pag. 31.	Glaucias.
Egnatius.	pag. 51.	Egnatius.
Stabia.	pag. 53.	Stabia.
Petiani.	pag. 54.	Peligni.
Talentia.	pag. 78.	Valentia.
Enomaus.	pag. 80.	Enomaus.
Consularians.	pag. 91.	Consularians.
it grieueth my hart.	pag. 100.	it grateh my hart.
the Pictons.	pag. 119.	the Pictons.
the Turens.	pag. 120.	the Turens.
the Andians.	pag. 120.	the Andians.
Achilles.	pag. 147.	Achillas.
aggrauate.	pag. 173.	arrogate.
Atia was.	pag. 176.	Atia, who was.

V